

A FRENCH BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
SIR THOMAS BROWNE

THÈSE COMPLÉMENTAIRE POUR LE DOCTORAT ÈS LETTRES
PRÉSENTÉE A LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

PAR

OLIVIER LEROY

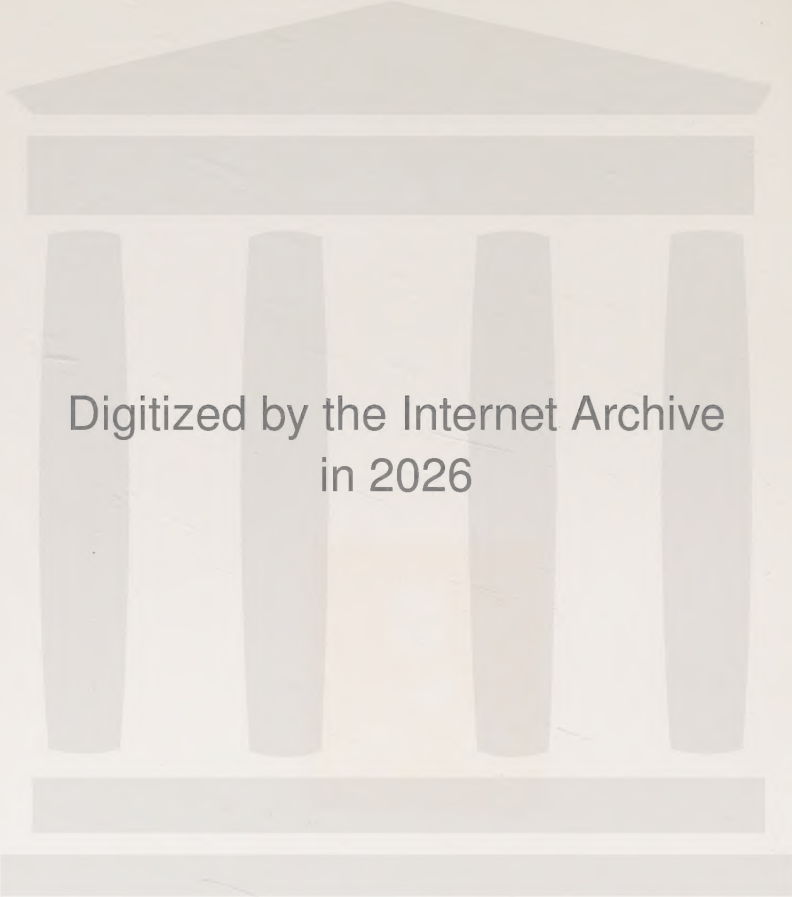
*Agrégé de l'Université
Docteur en Droit*



GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD.
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1931

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CORRIGENDA

Page 17, par. 26, line 9, *for* 41, *read* 40.

— 21, — 40, — 1, *for* 27, *read* 26.

— 26, — 54, — 11, *for* not be, *read* not to be.

— 34, — 68, — 15, *for* curioulsy, *read* curiously.

— 34, — 68, note 2, *for* 111, *read* 114.

— 35, — 69, line 3, *for* Whitte, *read* Witte.

— 37, — 71, — 6, *for* 131, *read* 134.

— 42, — 79, — 11, *for* cec, *read* ces.

— 44, — 85, — 6, *for* 109, *read* 111.

— 44, — 86, — 14, *for* assez, *read* assez.

— 55, — 103, — 5, *dele* full stop *after* Encyclopédie.

— 57, — 111, — 13, *for* 86, *read* 85.

— 85, — 144, lines 9 and 12, *for* edition, *read* publication.

— 95, *for* D'Hiharce, *read* D'Iharce.

— 96, *after* Filleau de la Chaise, *for* 146, *read* 147.

TO J. E. MANSION, ESQ.,
IN REMEMBRANCE OF MANY KINDNESSES
THIS LITTLE BOOK IS DEDICATED

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INTRODUCTION

I

INTRODUCTION

1. Though French literature has nothing new or attractive to offer on the subject of Sir Thomas Browne, it has been thought advisable, from a bibliographical point of view, to set up as full a list as possible of French books, articles and even dictionary notices in close or loose connection with Browne and his work.

2. At the same time, it was tempting to revise and try to settle the problem of Browne's indebtedness to Montaigne put forward for the first time by Thomas Keck in 1656 and neglected ever since.

3. As will appear from the matter below recorded Thomas Browne has long been known in France either as the moralist of *Religio Medici* or the scientist of *Pseudodoxia*. His chief merit, the one that warrants him immortality as long as English is understood, has escaped French notice for two centuries. The old translations of Browne's work never aimed at revealing anything of the sonority of his language or the gorgeousness of his diction. *Religio* and *Pseudodoxia* were considered as documents of moral or scientific value and done into French to convey useful matter, regardless of the beautiful manner. Indeed and in the modern sense of the word these books can hardly be said to have been translated at all, so little has been preserved in them of the flavour of the original.

4. It is also as a thinker — a scientist, a philosopher or an occultist — that Browne is mentioned in various compilations the authors of which have generally kept repeating the same stale and dreary details on Browne's belief in magic, on his so-called impiety or atheism, or his evidence in the trial of witches at Bury St. Edmunds. Of such notices, empty and tedious as the are, it was thought fit and even indispensable to keep due record here — if only to spare future inquirers the thankless task of looking them up...

5. All that belongs to the past. Now Browne is better known in France, as well as in his own country, as the wonderful manipulator of words of *Hydriotaphia* or *The Garden of Cyrus* than as the trite moralist of *Christian Morals* or the obsolete folk-lorist of *Vulgar Errors*. The standard book of English literature in the French language, written not long ago by the two eminent anglicists, Professors E. Legouis and L. Cazamian, gives on Thomas Browne a few pages of substantial criticism where a keen discernment of the thinker's limitations is allied to the most sympathetic comprehension of his personality and the liveliest sense of his artistic value.

6. Quite recently again a well-known French novelist and essayist, Valéry Larbaud, who is at the same time an indefatigable explorer of countries and books, has disclosed to the cultured layman the magnificence of Browne's rhetoric in the fifth chapter of *Urn-Burial*.

7. Does not all that foretell, in our time of ever-spreading knowledge of languages and active literary interchange, that the fame of Thomas Browne will cease before long to be exclusively national, but will come

gradually to be known, acknowledged and understood in far wider French circles than before ?

8. If this be the case, the present compilation will have at least the merit of giving the student in accessible form the bulk of what has been written in French on Browne, dispensing him from a trying search for information more difficult to gather than pleasant to go through.

9. The purpose of such a work could only be served by being methodical and thorough. This is the reason and the excuse for including in the following pages much of what would have been misplaced in a pure literary work.

10. The material arrangement of the present book into the sections, *Forerunners*, *Followers*, etc. has been suggested by a similar division in the masterly *Bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne* of Geoffrey Keynes, to which it may be regarded as a modest supplement.

11. There remains to be said that our work would have been far more imperfect than it is without the valuable suggestions of Professor F. Baldensperger, to whose kindness and erudition we are happy to express our indebtedness.

II

FORERUNNERS

II

FORERUNNERS

12. In mentioning the following authors among the « forerunners » of Thomas Browne, we do not mean to say that Browne was actually indebted to them for expression or thought. We simply want to draw the attention to some of his moral, philosophic or scientific preoccupations being in the air by the time he embodied them into his books, and accordingly to the *possibility* of their having been suggested to him by his French readings. That we are far from feeling sure of any borrowing proper will appear in our later discussion of Browne's imitation of Montaigne. But before discussing the facts it is indispensable to lay them down as fully as possible, and among others to take up again a more methodical basis for the comparison, originally suggested superficially enough by Thomas Keck in his *Annotations*, which have been ever since the only source of the critics who have supposed or asserted a filiation from Browne to Montaigne.

13. Thomas Keck, author of the *Annotations on Religio Medici* published in 1656 (cf. G. Keynes's *Bibliography*, n° 12), is the first to have traced a possible influence of Montaigne's *Essais* on Browne's thought in *Religio*. « I cannot think », he writes in his commentary on Part I, sect. 6 — referring to the passage where Browne confesses his aversion to religious disputes, « but in this expression the Author had respect to that of that excel-

lent French writer Mounsieur Mountaign (in whom I often trace him) ».

14. We will reproduce hereafter in two columns the passages of *Religio* where Keck thought he could detect Montaigne's influence, making no scruple to correct or complete both texts whenever Keck's quotations are wrong or curtailed. The editions followed are, for Montaigne :

Essais de Michel de Montaigne avec les notes de tous les commentateurs, Edition publiée par J. V. Le Clerc, Paris, Lefèvre, 1844, 3 vols. 8°. (This edition follows the folio of 1595, edited by M^{lle} de Gournay) ;

for Thomas Browne :

Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici, Letter to a Friend and Christian Morals, Edited by W. A. Greenhill, M. D. Oxon., London, Macmillan, 1923, 12° (Reimpression of the 1st ed., 1881) ;

Pseudodoxia Epidemica, in Sir Thomas Browne's Works, ed. by Simon Wilkin, London, William Pickering, 4 vols. 8°, 1835-1836.

Religio Medici

15. I could never divide my self from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that from which perhaps within a few days I should dissent my self. (Pt. I, s.6, p. 12).

Essais

Combien diversement iugeons nous des choses ? combien de fois changeons nous nos fantasies ? Ce que ie tiens aujourd'hui, et ce que ie crois, ie le tiens et le crois de toute ma croyance ; tous mes utils et tous mes ressorts empoignent cette opinion, et m'en respondent sur tout ce qu'ils peuvent : ie ne saurois embrasser aulcune ve-

rité, ny la conserver avecques plus d'assurance, que ie foye cette cy ; i'y suis tout entier, i'y suis voirement : mais ne m'est il pas advenu, non une fois, mais cent, mais mille, et tous les iours, d'avoir embrassé quelque aultre chose, à l'aide de ces mesmes instruments, en cette mesme condition, que depuis i'ay iugée faulse ? (Bk. II, ch. xii, vol. ii, p. 217).

16. [...] for indeed Heresies perish not with their Authours, but, like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another. One General Council is not able to extirpate one single Heresie : it may be cancell'd for the present : but revolution of time, and the like aspects from Heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again. For as though there were a Metempsychosis, and the soul of one man passed into another, Opinions do find, after certain Revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. (Pt. I, s. 6, p. 14).

17. Experience and History informs me, that not onely many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations, have

Si nature enserre dans les termes de son progrez ordinaire, comme toutes aultres choses, aussi les creances, les iugements et opinions des hommes ; si elles ont leur revolution, leur saison, leur naissance, leur mort, comme les choulx ; si le ciel les agite et les roule à sa poste, quelle magistrale auctorité et permanente leur allons nous attribuant ? (Bk. II, ch. xii, vol. ii, p. 236).

Les douleurs de l'enfantement, par les medecins et par Dieu mesme estimees grandes, et que nous passons

escaped the curse of Child-birth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex. (Pt. I, s. 10, pp. 19-20).

18. *Natura nihil agit frustra*, is the only indisputed Axiome in Philosophy. There are no Grotesques in Nature; not anything framed to fill up empty Cantons, and unnecessary spaces. (Pt. I, s. 15, p. 26).

19. All cannot be happy at once ; for, because the glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and must obey the swing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the Hand of God [...]. (Pt. I, s. 17, p. 31).

20. We do too narrowly define the Power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things ; how He should work contradictions, I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. (Pt. I, s. 27, p. 47).

avecques tant de cerimonies, il y a des nations entieres qui n'en font nul compte. (Bk. I, ch. xl, vol. i, pp. 344-345).

Nostre bastiment, et public et privé, est plein d'imperfection : mais il n'y a rien d'inutile en nature, non pas l'inutilité mesme : rien ne s'est ingeré en cet univers, qui n'y tienne place opportune. (Bk. III, ch. i, vol. iii, p. 2).

[...] Ce iugement semble estre mal prins ; d'autant qu'il ne se faict aucun proufit qu'au dommage d'aultruy, et qu'à ce compte il faudroit condamner toute sorte de gaings. (Bk. I. ch. xxi, vol. i, p. 115).

Il m'a tousjours semblé qu'à un homme chrestien cette sorte de parler est pleine d'indiscretion et d'irreverence : « Dieu ne peult mourir ; Dieu ne se peult desdire ; Dieu ne peult faire cecy ou cela. » Il ne treuve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine sous les lois de nostre parole : et l'apparence qui s'offre à nous en ces propositions, il la faudroit re-

presenter plus reveremment
et plus religieusement. (Bk.
II, ch. xii, vol. ii, p. 158).

21. I could be content that
we might procreate like trees,
without conjunction, or that
there were any way to per-
petuate the World without
this trivial and vulgar way
of union : it is the foolishhest
act a wise man commits in
all his life ; nor is there
any thing that will more de-
ject his cool'd imagination,
when he shall consider what
an odd and unworthy piece
of folly he hath committed.
(Pt. II, s. 9, pp. 110-111).

Or doncques, laissant les
livres à part, et parlant
plus materiellement et sim-
plement, ie treuve, aprez
tout, que l'Amour n'est au-
tre chose que la soif de cette
iouissance, en un subiet de-
siré ; ny Venus, aultre chose
que le plaisir à descharger
ses vases, comme le plaisir
que nature nous donne à
descharger d'autres parties ;
qui devient vicieux ou par
immoderation, ou par indis-
cretion : pour Socrates, l'a-
mour est appetit de genera-
tion, par l'entremise de la
beauté. Et considerant main-
tesfois la ridicule titillation
de ce plaisir, les absurdes
mouvements escervelez et es-
tourdis dequoy il agite Ze-
non et Cratippus, cette rage
indiscrete, ce visage enflam-
mé de fureur et de cruauté
au plus doux effect de l'a-
mour, et puis cette morgue
grave, severe et ecstatique en
une action si folle ; qu'on
aye logé peslemesle nos de-
lices et nos ordures ensem-
ble ; et que la supreme vo-
lupté aye du transy et du
plaintif comme la douleur :
je crois qu'il est vray, ce que
dict Platon, que l'homme a

esté faict par les dieux pour
leur iouet,

Quænam ista iocandi
Sævitia !

et que c'est par mocquerie
que nature nous a laissé la
plus trouble de nos actions,
la plus commune, pour nous
egaler par là, et apparier les
fols et les sages, et nous et les
bestes. Le plus contemplatif
et prudent homme, quand ie
l'imagine en cette assiette,
ie le tiens pour affronteur de
faire le prudent et le con-
templatif : ce sont les pieds
du paon, qui abattent son
orgueil

Ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat ?

Ceulx qui, parmy les ieux,
refusent les opinions serieu-
ses, font, dict quelqu'un,
comme celui qui craint d'a-
dorer la statue d'un saint,
si elle est sans devantiere.
Nous mangeons bien et beu-
vons comme les bestes : mais
ce ne sont pas actions qui
empeschent les offices de
nostre ame, en celles là nous
gardons nostre advantage sur
elles ; cette cy met toute aul-
tre pensée sous le ioug,
abrutit et abestit, par son im-
perieuse auctorité, toute la
theologie et philosophie qui
est en Platon, et si ne s'en
plainct pas. Partout ailleurs

vous pouvez garder quelque decence : toutes aultres operations souffrent des regles d'honnesteté : cette cy ne se peult pas seulement imaginer, que viciëuse ou ridicule; trouvez y, pour voir, un proceder sage et discret. Alexandre disoit, qu'il se cognoissoit principalement mortel par cette action, et par le dormir. Le sommeil suffoque et supprime les facultez de nostre ame : la besongne les absorbe et dissipe de mesme ; certes, c'est une marque, non seulement de nostre corruption originelle, mais aussi de nostre vanité et desformité.

D'un costé nature nous y poulse, ayant attaché à ce desir la plus noble, utile et plaisante de toutes ses fonctions ; et là nous laisse, d'aulture part, accuser et fuyr comme insolente et deshonneste, en rougir, et recom-mender l'abstinence. (Bk. III, ch. v, vol. iii, pp. 134-136).

22. These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth ; wherein I set no rule or limit to Thy Hand or Providence. Dispose of me according to the wisdom of Thy pleasure : Thy will be

C'est pourquoy le Chrestien, plus humble et plus sage, et mieux recognoissant que c'est que de luy, se rapporte à son Createur de choisir et ordonner ce qu'il luy faut [...]. Il me le supplie d'autre chose sinon que sa volonté soit faite. (Bk. II, ch.

done, though in my own un- xii, vol. ii, p. 331, 1588 ed.¹).
doing. (Pt. II, s. 15, p. 124).

23. Such are the passages in *Religio* where Keck found reminiscences of, or analogies to, the corresponding quotations of the *Essais*. His comparison has led us into searching Montaigne for some more possible examples of the same similitude of inspiration. This reading of the *Essais* has enabled us to find out the following passages some of which show a far more striking likeness than those produced before to those of Browne contained in the present list :

24. Methinks there be no impossibilities enough in Religion for an active faith ; the deepest Mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism and the rule of Reason. I love to lose my self in a mystery, to pursue my Reason to an *O altitudo* ! (Pt. I, s. 9, p. 17).

Il s'en fault tant que nos forces conceoivent la haulteur divine, que, des ouvrages de nostre Createur, ceulx là portent mieulx sa marque, et sont mieulx siens, que nous entendons le moins. C'est aux Chrestiens une occasion de croire, que de rencontrer une chose incroyable ; elle est d'autant plus selon raison, qu'elle est contre l'humaine raison [...]. (Bk. II, ch. xii, vol. ii, p. 115).

25. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God and therefore no deformity in any kind or species of creature whatsoever. I cannot tell by what Logick

Ce que nous appellons monstres ne le sont pas à Dieu, qui veoid en l'immensité de son ouvrage l'infinité des formes qu'il a comprises : et est à croire que

1. The reference to another edition is due to the fact that the passage is not to be found in the 1595 edition followed by us, and in which we had been in vain looking for it, as Thomas Keck has not given any reference. We owe the information to the courtesy of Professor P. Villey of the University of Caen.

we call a Toad, a Bear, or an Elephant ugly ; they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward forms, and having past that general Visitation of God, Who saw that all that He had made was good, that is, conformable to His Will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty. (Pt. I, s. 16, pp. 28-29).

26. Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of Infidelity or desperate positions of Atheism ; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. (Pt. I, s. 20, p. 35). Cf. *infra*, n° 41.

27. This very conceit [of the physical shame of death] hath in a tempest disposed and left me willing to be

cette figure qui nous estonne se rapporte et tient à quelque aultre figure de mesme genre incogneu à l'homme. De sa toute sagesse il ne part rien que bon, et coïmmun, et réglé : mais nous n'en veoyons pas l'assortiment et la relation. (Bk. II, ch. xxx, vol. ii, p. 434).

L'athéisme estant une proposition comme denasturee et monstreuse, difficile aussi et malaysee d'establis en l'esprit humain, pour insolent et deresglé qu'il puisse estre, il s'en est veu assez, par vanité et par fierté de concevoir des opinions non vulgaires et reformatrices du monde, en affecter la profession par contenance ; qui, s'ils sont assez fols, ne sont pas assez forts pour l'avoir plantee en leur conscience [...]. (Bk. II, ch. xii, vol. ii, p. 34¹).

Elle [la mort] m'est une par tout. Si toutesfois i'avois à choisir, ce seroit, ce crois ie, plustost à cheval, que

1. Cf. La Bruyère, *Les Caractères, Des Esprits forts* : « J'aurais une extrême curiosité de voir celui qui serait persuadé que Dieu n'est point ; il me dirait du moins la raison invincible qui a su le convaincre. » (ed. Charpentier, 1844, p. 427. Cf. *ibid.* « L'athéisme n'est point. »)

swallowed up in the abyss of waters, wherein I had perished unseen, unpityed, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, Lectures of mortality, and none had said,

Quantum mutatus ab illo !

(Pt. I, s. 40, p. 64).

dans un lict ; hors de ma maison et loing des miens [...]. S'il se tire quelque commodité de cette assistance, il s'en tire cent incommoditez. L'ay veu plusieurs, mourants bien piteusement, assiegez de tout ce train ; cette presse les estouffe. C'est contre le devoir, et est tesmoignage de peu d'affection et de peu de soing, de vous laisser mourir en repos : l'un tormente vos yeulx, l'autre vos aureilles, l'autre la bouche ; il n'y a sens, ny membre, qu'on ne vous fracasse. (Bk. III, ch. ix, vol iii, pp. 284-285).

28. The World to me is but a dream or mock-show, and we all therein but Pantalones and Anticks, to my severer contemplations. (Pt. I, s. 41, p. 66).

La pluspart de nos vacations sont farcesques ; *mundus universus exercet histrioniam*. (Bk. III, ch. x, vol iii, pp. 333-334).

29. I am of constitution so general, that it consorts and sympathiseth with all things. I have no antipathy, or rather Idio-syncrasie, in dyet, humour, air, any thing. (Pt. II, s. 1, p. 91).

I'ay la complexion du corps libre, et le goust commun, autant qu'homme du monde : la diversité des façons d'une nation à aultre ne me touche que par le plaisir de la variété. (Bk. III, ch. ix, vol. iii, p. 296).

30. I am no Plant that will not prosper out of a Garden. All places, all airs, make unto me one Countrey. (Pt. II, s. 1, p. 92).

La mutation d'air et de climat ne me touche point ; tout ciel m'est un. (Bk. III, ch. ix, vol. iii, p. 278).

31. There is a rabble even among the Gentry, a sort of Plebeian heads [...] there is a Nobility without Heraldry a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his Desert, and preheminnence of his good parts. (Pt. II, s. 1, pp. 92-93).

La noblesse est une belle qualité, et introduicte avecques raison ; mais d'autant que c'est une qualité despendant d'aultruy, et qui peult tumber en un homme vicieux et de neant, elle est en estimation bien loing au dessoubs de la vertu (Bk. III, ch. v, vol. iii, p. 92).

32. There is, I think no man that apprehends his own miseries less than myself, and no man that so neerly apprehends anothers. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces ; yet can I weep most seriously at a Play, and receive with true passion the counterfeit grief of those known and professed Impostures. (Pt. II, s. 5, p. 102).

Le me compassionne fort tendrement des afflictions d'aultruy, et pleurerois ayseement par compaignie, si, pour occasion que ce soit, ie sçavois pleurer. Il n'est rien qui tente mes larmes, non vrayes seulement, mais, comment que ce soit, ou feinctes ou peinctes. (Bk. II, ch. xi, vol. ii, p. 14).

33. I confess I do not observe that order that the Schools ordain our affections, to love our Parents, Wives, Children, and then our Friends ; for, excepting the injunctions of Religion, I do not find in my self such a necessary and indissoluble Sympathy to all those of my blood. (Pt. II, s. 5, p. 103).

Le pere et le fils peuvent estre de complexion entiereement esloingnee, et les freres aussi : c'est mon fils, c'est mon parent ; mais c'est un homme farouche, un meschant, ou un sot. Et puis, à mesure que ce sont amitez que la loy et l'obligation naturelle nous commande, il y a d'autant moins de nostre choix et liberté volontaire ; et nostre liberté

volontaire n'a point de production qui soit plus proprement sienne que celle de l'affection et amitié. (Bk. I. ch. xxvii, vol. i, p. 226).

34. [...] I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God [...] Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions : [...] one soul in two bodies ; for though indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls. (Pt. II, s. 5, pp. 103-104).

En l'amitié de quoy ie parle, elles [les âmes] se meslent et confondent l'une en l'autre d'un meslange si universel, qu'elles effacent et ne retrouvent plus la cousture qui les a ioinctes. Si on me presse de dire pourquoy ie l'aymoys, ie sens que cela ne se peult exprimer qu'en respondant, « Parce que c'estoit luy ; parce que c'estoit moy. » (Bk. I, ch. xxvii, vol. i, pp. 230-231).

35. I love my friend before my self, and yet methinks I do not love him enough. (Pt. II, s. 6, p. 104).

En la vraye amitié, de laquelle ie suis expert, ie me donne à mon amy, plus que ie ne le tire à moy. (Bk. III, ch. ix, vol. iii, p. 282).

36. I boast nothing, but plainly say, we all labour against our own cure ; for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no *Catholicon* or universal remedy I know but this. (Pt. II. s. 9, p. 113.)

Et ce n'est pas la recepte à une seule maladie, la mort est la recepte à tous maux ; c'est un port tres-assuré, qui n'est iamais à craindre, et souvent à rechercher. (B. II, ch. iii, vol. i, p. 480).

37. I feel that original canker corrode and devour me ; and therefore *Defenda me Dios de me*, « Lord deliver me from my self, » is a part

Les plus griefs et ordinaires maux sont ceulx que la fantasie nous charge : ce mot espagnol me plaist à plusieurs visages, *defenda me*

of my Letany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. (Pt. II, s. 10, p. 114)¹.

Dios de my. (Bk. III, ch. xiii, vol. iii, p. 447).

38. The world that I regard is my self ; it is the Microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eyes on ; for the other, I use it but like my Globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. (Pt. II, s. 11, p. 115).

Le monde regarde tousiours vis à vis : moy, ie replie ma veue au dedans ; ie la plante, ie l'amuse là. Chascun regarde devant soy : moy, ie regarde dedans moy ; ie n'ay affaire qu'à moy, ie me considere sans cesse, ie me contreroolle, ie me gousté. (Bk. II, ch. xvii, vol. ii, p. 359).

Pseudodoxia

39. And, as credulity is the cause of error, so incredulity oftentimes of not enjoying truth : and that not only an obstinate incredulity, whereby we will not acknowledge assent unto what is reasonably inferred, but any academical reservation in matters of easy truth, or rather sceptical infidelity against the evidence of reason and sense. (Bk. I, ch. v, *Works*, ii, p. 210).

Mais aussi, de l'autre part, c'est une sottise presumption d'aller desdaignant et condannant pour faulx ce qui ne nous semble pas vraysemblable : qui est un vice ordinaire de ceulx qui pensent avoir quelque suffisance oultre la commune. (Bk. I, ch. xxvi, vol. i, p. 218).

40. For atheism is the greatest falsity, and to affirm there is no God, the highest lie in nature. And therefore

Cf. *supra*, n° 27.

1. The surreptitious edition (1642) has the Spanish form « Defienda me Dios de me ». In the authorized edition *defienda* has been altered mysteriously enough into the Portuguese *defenda* (Cf. *Notes & Queries*. Aug. 5, 1922, p. 108).

strictly taken, some men will say his labour is in vain ; for many there are, who cannot conceive there was ever any absolute atheist. (Bk. I, ch. x, *Works*, ii, p. 249).

Letter to a Friend

41. He that early arriveth unto the Parts and Prudence of Age, is Happily old without the uncomfortable Attendants of it ; and 'tis superfluous to live unto gray Haire, when in a precocious Temper we anticipate the Virtues of them. In brief, he cannot be accounted young who out-liveth the old Man. He that hath early arrived unto the measure of a perfect Stature in Christ, hath already fulfilled the prime and longest Intention of his Being ; and one day lived after the perfect Rule of Piety, is to be preferred before sinning immortality. (Sect. 28, p. 146).

Christian Morals

42. He that is Chast and Continent not to impair his strength, or honest for fear of Contagion, will hardly be heroically virtuous. Adjourn not this virtue untill that temper when Cato could lend out his Wife, and impo-

Davantage, pauvre fol que tu es, qui t'a estably les termes de ta vie ? Tu te fondes sur les contes des medecins : regarde plustost l'effect et l'experience. Par le commun train de choses, tu vis pieça, par faveur extraordinaire : tu as passé les termes accoutumez de vivre. Et qu'il soit ainsi, compte de tes cognoissants combien il en est mort avant ton aage plus qu'il n'en y a qui l'ayent atteint [...] Il est plein de raison et de pieté de prendre exemple de l'humanité mesme de Iesus Christ : or il finit sa vie à trente et trois ans. (Bk. I ch. xix, vol, i, pp. 82-83).

[...] il fault que nostre conscience s'amende d'elle mesme, par renforcement de nostre raison, non par l'affoiblissement de nos appetits : [...]. On doit aimer la temperance par elle mesme, et pour le respect de

tent Satyrs write Satyrs upon Lust : [...]. (Pt. I, s. 3, pp. 162-163).

Dieu qui nous l'a ordonnée, et la chasteté ; celle que les catarrhes nous prestant, ce n'est ni chasteté ni tempérance : [...]. (Bk. III, ch. ii, vol. iii, p. 42).

43. Value the Judicious, and let not mere acquist in minor parts of Learning gain thy preexistimation. 'Tis an unjust way of compute to magnify a weak Head for some Latin abilities, and to undervalue a solid Judgment, because he knows not the genealogy of Hector[...] They do most by Books, who could do much without them, and he that chiefly owes himself unto himself is the substantial Man. (Pt. II, s. 4. pp. 188-189).

I'aime et honnore le sçavoir, autant que ceulx qui l'ont ; et, en son vray usage, c'est le plus noble et puissant acquist des hommes ; mais en ceulx là (et il en est un nombre infiny de ce genre) qui en establissent leur fondamentale suffisance et valeur, qui se rapportent de leur entendement à leur memoire, *sub aliena umbra latentes*, et ne peuvent rien que par livre ; ie le hais, si ie l'ose dire, un peu plus que la bestise. (Bk. III, ch. viii, vol. iii, p. 209).

44. Now it does not seem, even on the larger basis that we have laid down for comparison that the similarities of thought or words between Montaigne and Browne go so far as to establish the evidence of a literary filiation of the latter to the former. Nowhere is the likeness of matter or manner so close and striking that we feel absolutely sure of a reminiscence — far less of an imitation — on the part of Thomas Browne. Indeed none of the passages above quoted may be said to be original in either writer ; they all more or less belong to the common stock of human knowledge and wisdom from which anyone is at liberty to draw ; and many of them in particular might be traced back to the works

of classic literatures with which Browne and Montaigne were fully conversant.

45. It is also remarkable that never did Browne — fond as he was of quoting multifarious authorities — refer to Montaigne in all his work. Indeed he might be thought not to have adduced his authority in the present instance just because he felt too heavily indebted to it and preferred not to have the debt figured out. We are rather willing to confess elegant excursions among the rare or noble landscapes of literature but we feel inclined to secrecy, if our quotations amount to an avowal of sedulous imitation. So might be the case with Browne, and though his moral personality is abhorrent from such sordid plagiarism, the supposition should not be barred *prima facie*.

46. But there is an additional and more convincing reason to dismiss Keck's and others' surmise of Browne's having been consciously or even unconsciously influenced by Montaigne ; it is his positive declaration that he « had never read three leaves of that author », by the time he wrote *Religio*.

47. « In a piece of mine, published long ago, » says a note in a commonplace book, « the learned annotator [Thomas Keck] hath paralleled many passages with others of Montaigne's Essays, whereas, to deal clearly, when I penned that piece, I had never read three leaves, of that author, and scarce any more ever since ¹ ».

48. « Curiously enough », observes a French critic, « Browne has not published his late protest [...] and more curiously still he allowed an annotated edition

1. *Extracts from Common Place Books, Works*, iv, p. 387.

of *Religio Medici* in which his borrowings were pointed out, to be published during his lifetime in 1656. Very likely he wanted to protest only against some imaginary analogies mentioned by his annotator. Besides it should be observed that he does not deny having read Montaigne before writing *Religio*, but only having read the passages that he is accused to have imitated¹ ».

49. As a matter of fact Browne *has* denied having read Montaigne *at all*. The reading, « *these* pages (instead of *three*) — which is to be found in another passage of Wilkin's complete edition of the *Works* (vol. ii, p. 10, n. 6) — and in Bohn's édition (vol. ii, p. 328, n. 6) — is not correct, and besides unaccountable, as Browne's MS has the number in figure (MS Sloane 1869, fol. 106-107). It is even to be noticed that Browne had started writing down « *two* » but ran his pen through and put « *3* ».

50. Now for Browne's acquiescence in Keck's parallels, it admits of two possible explanations :

(a) He may have been at first a little proud to be compared to the famous French essayist and thought that the comparison could but help the success of further editions of *Religio*.

(b) It is remarkable that Browne never proved very eager to defend himself against trespass of his literary rights. When in 1657 *Nature's Cabinet Unlocked* was published, he was content with having the paternity of the spurious work denied by his publisher in a short bland notice modestly printed at the end of *Hydriotaphia* (1658).

1. J. Texte, *Etudes de littérature européenne*, p. 70, n. 1.

51. As to his protest in the commonplace book, it cannot be termed « late », as we do not know when it was penned and its not having been published does not lessen but increases immensely the value we may set upon it.

52. It should be added that the one copy of *Essais* mentioned in the sale catalogue of Browne's library may not have been his own, it being the 1693 edition of Cotton's translation (n° 174, p. 52 of the catalogue).

53. Again, it might be urged that Browne, so far from denying having read Montaigne at all, confessed his actual perusal of *three* leaves of him. And then, what may those *three* leaves be ? To which we will answer that we do not think his expression should be taken literally. It was not Browne's way to taste books, and he was wont to read through more cumbrous and less entertaining pieces than the *Essais*. His leaving off reading Montaigne, if he did start it, is still more improbable and unintelligible than his not reading him at all.

54. To conclude, we do not think there is the least reason for doubting the truth of Browne's denial, when we consider that it was privately written in one of his commonplace books and not intended for the press. Of course, on psychological ground, it sounds rather improbable that an omnivorous reader like Browne might have neglected such a dainty morsel as Montaigne's *Essais*, which had been then for thirty years one of the most widely read of foreign books ¹ and which he had the privilege of enjoying in the original ; but the problem is not to be solved by means of psychological suppositions,

1. The first translation by Florio, licensed in 1599, appeared in 1603

alluring though they may be, so long as we are provided for its solution with a positive basis, an authentic document of undeniable worth. *Historically* we are not entitled to believe that Thomas Browne has been directly influenced by the French essayist.

55. A reading by no means exhaustive of another French moralist of the time — himself a friend and disciple of Montaigne, Pierre Charron — has enabled us to find out in *De la Sagesse* several passages that might be paralleled with different passages in *Religio*. And in the case of Charron the possibility of imitation might be more plausibly defended, as Browne had on his shelves the translation of Charron (*Wisdom*, by S. Lennard, 1636, n° 82, p. 48 of the sale catalogue of his library). But of course these parallels do not prove any more than in the foregoing instances. They will be produced hereafter simply for curiosity's sake and to show how easily such synoptic tables may be worked out.

Religio Medici

56. I feel not in my self those common Antipathies that I can discover in others : those National repugnances do not touch me [...] (Pt. II, s. 1, pp. 91-92).

57. [...] that great enemy of Reason, Virtue and Religion, the Multitude : that numerous piece of monstrosity [...] more prodigious

De la Sagesse (1656 ed.)

C'est sottise et faiblesse que de penser que l'on doit croire et vivre par tout comme en son village [...]. Chacun appelle barbarie ce qui n'est pas de son goust et usage [...] Bk. II, ch. i, 5).

Le peuple (nous entendons icy le vulgaire, la tourbe et lie populaire, gens souz quelque couvert que ce soit, de basse servile et mecanique

than Hydra. (Pt. II, s. 1, p. 92).

condition) est une beste estrange à plusieurs testes. (Bk. I, ch. xviii).

58. There is a rabble even amongst the Gentry, a sort of Plebeian heads, whose fancy moves with the same wheel as these ; men in the same Level with Mechanicks [...], (Pt. II, s. 1, pp. 92-93).

La [noblesse] naturelle [i. e. hereditary] est une qualité d'aultruy et non sienne [...] et qu'y a-t-il plus inepte que de se glorifier de ce qui n'est pas sien ? Elle peut tomber en un homme vicieux, vauneant, tresmal nay, et en soy vraiment vilain. (Bk. I, ch. lv).

59. I could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the World without this trivial and vulgar way of union : it is the foolishhest act a wise man commits in all his life [...]. Pt. II, s. 9. pp. 110-111).

C'est une fievre et furieuse passion que l'amour charnel et tres dangereuse à qui s'y laisse transporter [...] : elle abestit et abrutit toute la sagesse, resolution, prudence, contemplation et toute operation de l'âme. (Bk. I, ch. xxxiv).

60. A few more authors may be mentioned under the same heading, though they are not supposed to have influenced Browne's thought in any way, because the titles of their works, by the likeness they bear to that of *Vulgar Errors*, may have suggested to Browne, if not the idea itself, at least the title of his treatise. One of them, L. Joubert has been quoted by Browne in his preface to *Pseudodoxia*, where he declares that he « reaped no advantage » from his reading *Erreurs populaires*¹. Indeed Joubert did not profess to

1. « Laurentius Joubertus, by the same title, led our expectation into-

deal with every sort of errors but only with those referring to medicine, which, on the contrary, are nearly excluded from Browne's *Pseudodoxia*.

61. JOUBERT, LAURENT. — *Erreurs Populaires et propos Vulgaires touchant la Medecine et le Regime de Santé... Expliquez et refutez Par M. Laur. Ioubert, Conseiller et Medecin ordinaire du Roy et du Roy de Nauarre, etc., Bordeaux, S. Millanges, 1579, 8°.*

This was the first complete edition. The first part had been already published in 1570 and the 2nd part was published alone in the same year 1579.

62. BACHOT, GASPARD. — *Erreurs populaires touchant la Medecine et regime de Santé : Par M. Gaspard Bachot, Bourbonnois, Conseiller et Medecin du Roy. Œuvre nouvelle, desirée de plusieurs, & promise par feu M. Laurent Joubert, Lyon, B. Vincent, 1626, 8°.*

63. D'ESPAGNE, JEAN. — *Les erreurs populaires es Poincts Generaux qui concernent l'intelligence de la Religion, etc. Par Jean D'Espagne Ministre du S. Euangile, Paris, Moudière, 1643, 8°.*

64. It will be found in section VII of the present bibliography (*French Books in Browne's Library*) that Thomas Browne possessed a copy of Joachim du Bellay's works (1659 ed.). That he was indeed familiar with the French poet might be further suggested by a quatrain of doggerel in Pt. II, s. 4 of *Religio Medici* whose likeness to some lines of Sonnet lxiii in *Les Regrets* has been pointed out by Mr. H. G. Ward¹. Here are in

thoughts of great relief ; whereby, notwithstanding, we reaped no advantage, it answering scarce at all the promise of the inscription. » (*Pseudodoxia, To the Reader, Works*, ii, p. 180.)

1. *Joachim du Bellay and Sir Thomas Browne*, The Review of English Studies, Vol. V, n° 17, Jan. 1929, pp. 59-60.

synoptic arrangement the texts of Browne and du Bellay :

		[.]
65. Le mutin Anglois, & le	Et le poltron Romain pour	
[bravache Escossois ;	[son peu d'exercice ;	
Le bougre Italian, & le	Je hay l'Anglois mutin & le	
[fol François ;	[brave Escossois,	
Le poultron Romain, le	Le traistre Bourguignon &	
[larron de Gascongne,	[l'indiscret François,	
L'Espagnol superbe, &	Le superbe Espagnol & l'y-	
[l'Aleman yvrongne.	[vrongne Thudesque... ¹	

66. The parallel is interesting but as the expressions in du Bellay are themselves nothing but quotations from proverbial sayings which Thomas Browne had many opportunities of hearing when a student at Montpellier, there is no imperative reason for supposing that he had borrowed them from the said sonnet or even that they were an unconscious reminiscence from it.

1. *Œuvres poétiques*, H. Chamard ed., Paris, 1927, vol. ii, p. 104-105.

III

TRANSLATORS

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TRANSLATORS

67. *Religio Medici* met with a rapid, general and lasting success. Twenty years after its first edition it was looked upon by William Petty as one of the three books « the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world, » Osborne's *Advice to a Son* and *Hudibras* being the other two ¹. One year after the first authorized edition it was translated into Latin by John Merryweather. It is especially through this Latin version that *Religio* became known to every European scholar and this accounts for a French translation of the book not having been needed very badly. It only appeared in 1668. *Pseudodoxia* waited still longer and was translated into French nearly a century after its first English edition ². It was published in 1733 and was reprinted three times. Nothing else of Browne's work was ever translated into French with the exception of a few fragments.

68. LE FEBVRE, NICOLAS. — *La Religion du Medecin, C'est à dire : Description necessaire par Thomas Browne, Medecin renommé à Norwich ; touchant son Opinion accordante avec le pur service Divin d'Angleterre. Traduit par Nicolas Le Febvre, La Haye, 1668, 12°.*

We have not been able to see a copy of this edition which is unknown to Geoffrey Keynes in his *Biblio-*

1. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Globe Edition, p. 241.

2. A certain Pierre Briot intended to translate *Pseudodoxia* but for some unknown reason did not carry out the scheme. (Cf. *Works*, I, p. 110.)

graphy We have simply come across the book in the catalogue of J. Vrin, second-hand bookseller in Paris, from whom we could not get it, it having been purchased at once and, we are told, applied for besides by more than twenty persons. Keynes's *Bibliography* only mentions an edition of the same year where neither the names of the translator, printer, publisher nor the place of publishing are recorded.

Nicolas Le Febvre was a chemist whose life is very little known. He was called by Charles II to supervise his laboratory at St. James. He never left England and died in London in 1674. He was a disciple of Glauber and Van Helmont and seems by his belief in a *universal spirit* to have been somewhat connected with the alchemistic current of thought. Curiously enough this translation is not from the English original or even the Latin version, but from the Dutch edition of 1665. And when one reads in the *Avis au Lecteur* that the translator has « faithfully followed the original », this is to be understood of the Dutch translator but not of the French ¹.

This French translation, though not excellent, does not deserve the drastic censure of Milsand who writes that it is a « tissu de contresens délavés dans un style illisible ². » In fact we could find but few false meanings in it and on the whole it might give the ordinary reader quite a sufficient idea of the book as an essay of practical philosophy. Its great fault is literary, as hardly anything of the beauty of the original has passed into the French. As a rule, it may be rather considered as an adaptation than as a translation proper. An example or two will show with what freedom the translator has dealt with the me-

1. « Disons donc maintenant que nous avons suivi fidèlement l'original anglois dans la traduction que nous en avons faite, et que nous avons mieux estimé suivre cette première impression que la latine, quoy qu'elle fût embellie de plusieurs beaux éclaircissements, parce que c'est sa langue naturelle et par conséquent la plus naïve et la plus fidelle. » (Fol. 8).

2. *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Vol. XIV, p. 653. See n° III.

taphors or the the author whenever he found them difficult to render — unless the Dutch translator was already responsible for this fading of the primitive text :

Let me be nothing, if, within the compass of myself, I do not find the battail of Lepanto [...] (Pt. II, s. 7, p. 106).

Je sens en moi-même les cruelles guerres civiles qu'il y eut entre César et Pompée dans la Pharsalie.

I can cure Vices by Physick when they remain incurable by Divinity, and shall obey my Pills when they contemn their precepts. (Pt. II, s. 9, p. 113).

Il y a des vices ou des defauts, qui se peuvent guérir par le moyen de la médecine, et qui au regard de la Théologie sont incurables.

69. SOUCHAY, J.-B. — *Essai sur les Erreurs Populaires, ou Examen de plusieurs Opinions reçues comme vrayes, qui sont fausses ou douteuses*, Paris, Pierre Whitte, 1733, 2 vols. 12°.

This translation was anonymous and the name of the translator unknown till the catalogue of the Abbé Souchay's library was published (*Dictionnaire* of Moréri, 1759 ed., s. v. SOUCHAY : « Nous apprenons du catalogue de la bibliothèque nombreuse et bien choisie que M. l'Abbé Souchay s'est formée, qu'il est traducteur de la *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* de Browne, ouvrage curieux et utile »).

The book was reprinted the same year at Amsterdam, then at Paris, by Briasson, in 1738 and 1753. J. B. Souchay (1688-1746) was *Professeur d'éloquence* at the *Collège Royal* and is known as the editor of Ausonius. The text used for his translation is that of the sixth edition (1672), the last original one. The French version reads well enough but is far from being accurate or even complete. The abbé Souchay may be excused for omitting such passages as the beginning of ch. xvi, Bk. VII, *Of the Woman that conceived in*

a *Bath* ; but it appears that not only scabrous allusions but abstruse metaphors were enough to scare him away :

And he that challenged the boldest hand unto the picture of an echo, must laugh at this attempt, not only in the description of invisibility but circumscription of ubiquity, and fetching under lines incomprehensible circularity. (Bk. V, ch. xxii, *Works*, iii, p. 156).

Et celui qui défiait de peindre l'écho riroit sans doute de la témérité du peintre qui ose tracer avec des couleurs matérielles l'idée de l'être invisible et souverain, (Vol. ii, p. 202).

70. CHAUFÉPIÉ, JAKES, GEORGES DE. — *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique et critique pour servir de supplément ou de continuation au Dictionnaire historique et critique de M. Pierre Bayle*, Amsterdam & La Haye, 1740-1746, 4 vols. fol.

T. II, p. 452, note : translation of Thomas Browne's letter to Henry Power (*Works*, i, p. 356).

71. Taine, in his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, was the first to quote in French some passages of chapter V of *Hydriotaphia*, and part of his translation is reproduced by H. Dietz, in his anthology of foreign literatures. A translation of a section of *Religio Medici* is also to be found in Professor A. Koszul's excellent anthology of English literature. But the most explicit homage to Browne as a stylist was paid lately by M. Valéry Larbaud in doing into French in the review *Commerce* the whole of chapter V of *Hydriotaphia*.

It may be mentioned here as a further evidence of the appreciation by French Anglicists of the literary value of the said chapter that three paragraphs of it (10, 11, et 12) : « Darkness and light divide the course of time...

in the infancy of his nature, » were set for translation at the competitive examination for the *Agrégation d'anglais* in 1910. In the same connection it should be noticed that M. F. Baldensperger lectured in 1913 in the Sorbonne on Thomas Browne and *Religio Medici* (cf. *infra*, 131).

72. TAINE, H. — *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Hachette, 1863, 4 vols, 8°.

T. I, l. ii, ch. i, *La renaissance païenne*, § iv, p. 397 : quotation in French of par. 8, 9 & 10 of chapt. v (from « But the iniquity of oblivion » down to « Pharaoh is sold for balsams. ») It should be observed that several passages are omitted and that the order of the quoted ones is often inverted : 1st passage : « But the iniquity... confounded that himself. » 2nd passage : « But all was vanity... is sold for balsams. » 3rd passage : « The greater part must be content... stands one moment. » 4th passage : « and oblivion shares with memory... destroy us or themselves. » 5th passage : « To be ignorant of evils to come... by the edge of repetitions. » 6th passage : « And since death must be the *Lucina* of life, » 7th passage : « since the brother of death... folly of expectation. » Passages omitted : (a) : « In vain we compute... Oblivion is not to be hired. » (b) : « and even Pagans... and have our light in ashes. » (c) : « To weep into stones... no unhappy stupidity. » (d) : « A great part of antiquity... to attend the return of their souls. »

The translation is elegant and accurate but lacks the mellowness of the original. Besides, the sentence, « The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live » has been inadvertently rendered by : « Le nombre des morts excède de beaucoup tout ce qui vit. »

73. DIETZ, H. — *Les littératures étrangères*, Paris, A. Colin, [1891], 16°.

P. 159 : under the title, *L'oubli*, reproduction of the translation by Taine of ch. v, § 8 of *Hydriotaphia* (From « But the iniquity of oblivion », down to « by the edge of repetitions, » with the same omissions or inversions).

74. KOSZUL, A. — *Anthologie de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Delagrave, 1912, 2 vols. 16°.

Vol. I : reproduction of the translation by N. Le Febvre of sect. 32, Pt. I of *Religio Medici* (from the beginning down to « in the body of the sun »).

75. LARBAUD, VALÉRY. — *Sir Thomas Browne, Chapitre V de Hydriotaphia précédé d'Opinions de S. T. Coleridge sur Sir Thomas Browne. Traduit de l'Anglais par Valéry Larbaud* (Commerce, Cahiers trimestriels publiés par les soins de Paul Valéry, Léon-Paul Fargue, Valéry Larbaud, Automne 1929, Cahier XXI, pp. 185-205).

M. Valéry Larbaud has attempted here for the first time to give to French readers unable to enjoy the music of Browne in the original as faithful a transposition as possible of an important fragment of his gorgeous symphony. On the whole the attempt has proved successful and deserves the highest commendation.

IV

FOLLOWERS OF IMITATORS

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76. *Religio Medici* has begotten in English an amazing swarm of offspring : *Religio Laici*, *Stoici*, *Clerici*, *Militis*, *Religio* of every possible calling, trade, sect or avocation. In France Browne has only been followed or imitated as the author of *Pseudodoxia*, if he may be said to have been imitated at all. For the authors we will quote under the present heading are often indebted to Browne only for their titles. Loose as their connexion may be with the author of *Vulgar Errors*, it appears that the connexion exists, that several of them knew Browne and his work and that some of the following compilations are more or less directly derived from *Pseudodoxia*.

77. THIERS, JEAN-BAPTISTE. — *Traité des Superstitions qui regardent les Sacrements*, etc., Avignon, Chambeau, 1774, 4 vols., 12° (1st ed., 1679).

In spite of its title this work deals at times with much of the same matter as *Pseudodoxia*. Cf. for instance Bk. V : *Des animaux superstitieux. De la corde de pendu, du trèfle à quatre feuilles et du cœur d'hirondelle*. Still the author does not seem to have known Browne's work or at least to have availed himself of it.

78. LE BRUN, PIERRE. — *Histoire critique des Pratiques Superstitieuses, Qui ont séduit les Peuples, & embarrassé les Sçavans*, etc., par un Prêtre de l'Oratoire, Rouen, G. Behourt, 1702, 2 vols. 12°.

Here again the analogy with Browne appears but superficial and fortuitous. Browne is not named by the author.

79. CASTILLON, J. L. — *Essai sur les Erreurs et les Superstitions*, par M. L. C., Amsterdam, Arckée & Merkus, 1765, 12°.

The author refers to Browne in his preface (p. v.) : « M. le Docteur Brown, écrivain très ingénieux, philosophe éclairé, a donné il y a quelques années un *Traité des erreurs populaires*. Mon ouvrage commence où le sien finit. M. Brown prouve par de très bons raisonnements la folie de ces erreurs, j'en démontre l'absurdité par l'histoire des maux et des progrès qu'elles ont faits. Cec deux ouvrages, comme on voit n'ont donc rien de commun. »

80. BUFFIER, CLAUDE. — *Examen des Prejuges Vulgaires pour disposer l'esprlt à juger sainement de tout*, Paris, J. Mariette, 1704, 12°.

The author does not refer to Browne.

81. BIENVILLE, J. D. T. — *Traité des Erreurs populaires sur la santé*, La Haye, 1775, 8°.

The author does not refer to Browne.

82. D'IHARCE. — *Erreurs populaires sur la Médecine... Par M. d'Iharce Ecuyer, Docteur en Médecine*, etc. Paris, chez l'Auteur, 1783, 12°.

The author refers to Browne in his preface (pp. x-xi) : « Le célèbre Thomas Brown, Médecin et antiquaire de Londres, a composé sur les erreurs populaires un ouvrage savant, traduit en françois par M. l'abbé Souchai, [...] mais loin de se fixer sur les erreurs relatives à la Médecine, il n'a traité qu'un petit nombre d'articles qui s'y rapportent ».

83. RICHERAND, A. — *Des Erreurs populaires relatives à la Médecine*, etc., Paris, Caille et Ravier, 1810, 8°.

Browne is referred to in the preface.

84. SALGUES, J.-B. — *Des erreurs et des Préjugés répandus dans les diverses classes de la société*, Bruxelles, Perichon, 1836, 3 vols. 8° (1st ed. 1810).

After referring to Joubert, Bienville, d'Iharce and Richerand, who have refuted medical errors, to Le Brun, Thiers, etc., who have dealt with superstition, the author observes that, « The most complete work is Browne's *Vulgar Errors*. » Though Browne is not himself free from errors and his knowledge of physics is rather deficient, « he is learned and deserves to be consulted. » (Vol. I, p. v).

Full passages of *Pseudodoxia* are quoted by Salgues who seems to derive much of his erudition from Browne, though he assumes towards him quite a magisterial air at times, namely when he deals him several sharp knocks on the knuckles for having supposed that the cockatrice might have been hurtful through subtle venomous emanations from its eyes : « Je suis fâché de trouver dans Thomas Brown un si mauvais raisonnement. Quand on se charge d'éclairer les autres et de faire la guerre aux préjugés, il faut commencer par se mettre en garde soi-même contre la prévention et la crédulité. (Vol. I, p. 234). Browne is quoted Vol. II, pp. 185, 206, 232, and it appears that the chapters *Du Phénix* (I, p. 131 sq.), *Pygmées* (I, p. 270 sq.), *Chant du cygne* (II, p. 61), *Annibal* (II, p. 237), are nothing but the corresponding chapters of *Pseudodoxia* in French disguise.

85. COLLIN DE PLANCY, J. — *Dictionnaire des sciences occultes*, Paris, Migne, 1848, 2 vols. 4°,

Twenty four notices in the dictionary appear more or less copied out of *Pseudodoxia*, the borrowing being indeed duly acknowledged (Cf. the entries : aimant,

alcyon, amphibène, animaux, arc-en-ciel, autruche, castor, cerf, chandelle, Cléopâtre, coiffe, crapaudine, dauphin, éléphant, Epicure, fumée, grossesse, hiéroglyphes, lamproies, langue primitive, lièvre, lithomanie, Milon, peau.) For the entry « Thomas Browne », in the same dictionary, see *infra* n° 109.

86. WADDINGTON, CH. — *Des Erreurs et des Préjugés populaires*, par Ch. Waddington, Agrégé de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, Paris, Hachette, 1866, 16°.

This pamphlet is the text of a lecture given at the *Asile impérial de Vincennes* by a professor of philosophy. The similarity of title with Browne's book is not a coincidence. The author was acquainted with Browne, to whom he refers : « Un savant médecin anglais du dernier siècle nommé Thomas Brown a entrepris de dresser un catalogue des préjugés populaires. Son travail est très incomplet : il ne révèle guère que des erreurs relatives à l'histoire naturelle, et cependant il remplit deux volumes d'une dimension assez respectable, puisqu'ils ont de quatre à cinq cents pages chacun. Bien entendu, je n'ai pas accepté la charge de le compléter devant vous. A ce compte, nous pourrions être encore ici dans plusieurs fois vingt-quatre heures. Je ne veux que prendre au hasard, dans cet ouvrage et ailleurs, quelques exemples d'erreurs tombées dans l'oubli ou dans le ridicule. » (p. 22).

v

BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

87. Browne has never yet been extensively or systematically studied in the French language. Most of what follows consists of snatches of criticism or of stale biographical information. All this is of poor literary interest. Still it has been thought useful to gather it here from a historical point of view. The first consistent piece of criticism on Browne in French is the article written in 1856 by J. A. Milsand in *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, of which we will give a substantial analysis. Next to it in importance and volume comes J. Texte's article in *Etudes de Littérature européenne*, the latter will be also analysed and commented upon.

88. PATIN, Guy. — *Lettres de Gui Patin. Nouvelle édition augmentée de lettres inédites, etc., par J. H. Reveillé-Parise*, Paris, Baillière, 1846, 3 vols. 8°.

The references of Patin to Browne in his well-known letters have not the importance attached to them by Edmund Gosse who calls him comically enough a « brilliant man of letters » (*Sir Thomas Browne*, p. 58). Guy Patin was no man of letters, and has no place in French literature proper. His pieces of criticism on Browne are far from being, as the English critic will have it, « a most penetrating judgment ». On the contrary Patin's allusions to *Religio* are superficial, scanty and somewhat incoherent. Nevertheless we will record them hereafter as the first French criticism on Browne.

(a) *Letter of October 21, 1644*

« Il est arrivé d'Hollande un petit livre nouveau intitulé *Religio Medici*, fait par un Anglois, et traduit en latin par quelque Hollandois¹. C'est un livre tout gentil et curieux, mais fort délicat et tout mystique ; l'auteur ne manque pas d'esprit, vous y verrez d'étranges et ravissantes pensées. Il n'y a guère de livres de cette sorte. S'il étoit permis aux savants d'écrire librement, on nous apprendroit beaucoup de nouveautés ; il n'y eut jamais gazette qui valût cela ; la subtilité de l'esprit humain se pourroit découvrir par cette voie. » (Vol. I, p. 340).

(b) *Letter of April 16, 1645*

« On a fait ici grand état du livre intitulé *Religio Medici* ; cet auteur a de l'esprit. Il y a de gentilles choses dans ce livre. C'est un mélancolique agréable en ses pensées ; mais qui, à mon jugement, cherche maître en fait de religion, comme beaucoup d'autres, et peut-être qu'enfin il n'en trouvera aucun. Il faut dire de lui ce que Philippe de Commines a dit du fondateur des Minimes, l'ermite de Calabre, François de Paule : Il est encore en vie, il peut aussi bien empirer qu'amender. » (Vol. I, p. 354).

(c) *Letter of July 26, 1650*

« M. le chevalier Digby, gentilhomme anglois, catholique fort zélé, savant et curieux, avoit écrit en voyageant, comme il a fait beaucoup depuis vingt ans, et principalement en Italie, un traité de l'immortalité de l'ame en anglois ; quelqu'un l'a mis en latin, et s'imprime aujourd'hui à Paris. C'est ce même chevalier qui a écrit aussi en anglois contre l'auteur du livre intitulé *Religio Medici*. Je voudrois ardemment que ce qu'il en a écrit fût aussi mis en latin, vu que j'ai bonne opinion de ces deux esprits, encore que je ne voudrois pas jurer qu'en tous deux il n'y eût quel-

1. The first edition of the Latin translation by John Merryweather

que extravagance. J'ai vu ce dernier livret en anglois, c'est un in-douze imprimé à Londres l'an 1643¹. » (Vol. II, p. 35).

(d) *Letter of October 21, 1653*

« Il paroît un *Religio Medici*, in-octavo, imprimé à Strasbourg, avec des commentaires faits par quelque Allemand, qui non habet aurem batavam. C'est un maître homme qui a de l'esprit et du mérite de son original, en faisant abstraction des mauvaises qualités que cet Anglois a dans sa cervelle mélancolique². » (Vol. II, p. 77).

(e) *Letter of June 19, 1657*

« L'on réimprime à Strasbourg la *Religio Medici*, in-octavo, avec des commentaires trois fois plus amples que ci-devant³. J'ai céans ces commentaires de 1652, qui sont peu de chose ; ce livre-là n'avoit pas besoin de tels écoliers. Personne n'étoit capable de traduire sur ce livre s'il n'avoit l'esprit approchant de l'auteur, qui est gentil et éveillé. Ce badin de commentateur est un gros sot ; il pense avoir fait un grand coup quand il cite van Helmont, qui n'est qu'un malheureux ignorant et un imposteur public. Le génie du premier auteur du livre vaut mieux que tous ces commentaires, qui ne sont que la misérable pédanterie d'un jeune homme allemand qui pense être bien savant. » (Vol. II, p. 321).

1. Digby's *Observations*, London, 1643 (Cf. Keynes's *Bibliography*, n° 214).

2. 1652 edition of Merryweather's translation with preface and annotations of Levin Nicol von Moltke (Cf. Keynes's *Bibliography*, n° 63). It is to be observed that Patin was quite pleased with this commentary and that Edmund Gosse is mistaken when he writes that the « tedious and pedantic sheet of *Annotations* » of Moltke made Patin « fly into a passion at the impertinence of the man. » (*Op. cit.*, p. 59.) Patin's indignation was vented four years later over another edition of the book which is unknown (See next note).

3. The new edition referred to by Patin is unknown. Two more editions of the translation of Merryweather with Moltke's annotations were published in 1665 and 1677.

89. The foregoing extracts seem to mark a certain evolution in Patin's appreciation of Browne's work. Though he never lost interest in the book, which he declared in 1644 « tout gentil et curieux », it appears that he did not preserve towards *Religio* the same freshness of enthusiasm. As early as 1645 he observes in Browne a melancholy disposition which had not struck him at first and could hardly be to his own mind a very commendable quality. In 1650 though he expresses his good opinion of Browne and Digby he cannot help finding something whimsical about them ; and three years later his occasional praise of Browne's wit is rather harshly qualified with the unexpected mention of the « mauvaises qualités que cet anglois a dans sa cervelle mélancolique ». No doubt we have in Patin's correspondance an evidence of his interest in his English colleague but nowhere is it suggestive of anything like an « enthusiastic admiration. »¹

90. CHAPELAIN, JEAN. — *Lettres de Jean Chapelain de l'Académie Française publiées par Ph. Tamizey de Larroque*, Paris, Imp. Nat., 1880-1883, 2 vols. 4°.

Vol. II, p. 201, col. 1, *Lettre à M. Huet, gentil-homme normand à Caen*, Feb. 1662 : « L'Anglois qui a fait le livre intitulé *Religio Medici* ne marchande point à l' [Bernardino Ochino] en qualifier le vrai père [of the book *Of the Three Impostors*]. » Cf. *Religio*, Pt. I, s. 20).

91. BAYLE, PIERRE. — *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Rotterdam, M. Bohm, 1720, 4 vols. fol. (1st ed. 1697).

(a) Vol. III, s. v. Sadeur, p. 2508 : Commenting upon the *Nouveau voyage de la Terre australe* by Jacques Sadeur (1692), an imaginary relation where the aborigines of Australia are supposed to procreate without sexual intercourse, Bayle observes that « l'Au-

1. Edmund Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 59 : « As late as 1657 we find Patin true to his enthusiastic admiration of Thomas Browne. »

teur de la religion du Médecin tenoit quelque chose du goût des Australiens » and he quotes in a note the passage of *Religio* (II, 9) where Browne expresses his wish « that we might procreate like trees. »

(b) Vol. IV, *Eclaircissements sur les Pyrrhoniens*, pp. 3005-3006 : Quotation of the passage in *Religio* (I,8) where Browne declares that he does not object to religious dogmas being mysterious, with this comment : « Notez que cet écrivain parle de la sorte dans un livre intitulé *Religio Medici*, *La Religion du Médecin*, et qui, à ce que disent certaines gens, pourrait être intitulé *Le Médecin de la Religion*, ouvrage en un mot qui a fait croire à quelques personnes que l'auteur étoit un peu éloigné du Royaume des Cieux (here a note where is quoted the passage in Patin's letter dated April 16, 1645, beginning with « C'est un mélancolique, etc. » (See *supra* n° 88 (b)). On lui pourrait donc appliquer ces Paroles de l'Evangile, Non inveni tantam fidem in Israel : même en Israel je n'ai point trouvé une si grande foi. »

92. BAYLE, PIERRE. — *Œuvres diverses*, La Haye, Husson, 1725-1727, 4 vols. fol.

Vol. I, p. 25 : Bayle quotes the same passage again with these remarks : « Monsieur Patin ne parle guère des gens et des livres sans en dire son sentiment avec beaucoup de liberté. Ainsi en parlant du livre de la Religion du Médecin, il dit que celui qui l'a composé a de l'esprit et qu'il y a de gentilles choses : « (Quotation of the passage). » Apparemment Monsieur Patin ne sçavoit pas que ce livre avoit été composé par un Medecin Anglois nommé Thomas Browne. »

One does not see why Bayle supposed Patin not to have known the name of the author which is mentioned in the book (Cf. p. 39 : « In Religionem Medici Anglici Scriptæ a D. D. Browne. »)

93. MANGET, JEAN-JACOB. — *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medicorum...* Perachon, Geneva, 1731, 2 vols. fol.

T. I, pp. 483-486 : quoted : *The Works*, fol. 1686 ; *Religio Medici*, 1642 & 1654 (¶) ; Merryweather's Latin translation, 1644, and another Latin translation of 1651 (¶).

94. MERCURE DE FRANCE. — *Mercur de France dédié au Roy*, nov. 1733, Paris, Cavelin, 1733, 12°.

Pp. 2443-2451 : review of Souchay's translation of *Pseudodoxia* (see *supra* n° 69) which is wrongly said to consist of 3 (instead of 2) volumes. The comment, short and indifferent, is an extract from the *Préface du Traducteur*. Quotations are given from Bk. I, ch. iii and Bk. II, ch. v, § 5.

95. PRÉVOST d'EXILES, A.-F. (L'Abbé PRÉVOST). — *Le Pour et le Contre, ouvrage périodique d'un goût nouveau dans lequel on s'explique librement sur tout ce qui peut intéresser la curiosité du Public en matière de Sciences, d'Arts, de Livres, d'Auteurs, etc., sans prendre aucun parti et sans offenser personne, par l'Auteur des Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, Paris.

T. I. pp. 230-231 : reference to *Pseudodoxia* and to its French translation.

96. JOURNAL DES SÇAVANS, LE. — *Le Journal des Sçavans pour l'année MDCCXXXIII*, Paris, Chaubert, 1733, 4°.

(A) June, 1733, p. 316-326 : review of *Essay sur les Erreurs Populaires* translated by Souchay (see, *supra* n° 69) : (a) : Forerunners of Browne : L. Joubert, G. Bachot, J. Primrose, S. Mercurio ; (b) : none of the said authors had as large an object in view as Thomas Browne ; (c) : analysis of the first three books.

(B) Aug., 1733, p. 433-442 : analysis of the four last books.

97. NICÉRON, JEAN-PIERRE. — *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des*

lettres. Avec un catalogue raisonné de leurs ouvrages, Paris, Briasson, 1733, 44 vols. 12°.

T. XXIII, *Thomas Browne le médecin*, p. 353-360. P. 353-354 : usual biographical details. P. 355-360 : list of his works. P. 356 : referring to the translations of *Religio* in different languages Nicéron concludes : « Tout cela montre assez l'estime qu'on en a faite et l'avidité que chaque nation a eue de le lire en sa langue. Patin en a jugé trop malignement à son ordinaire, lorsqu'il a dit, dans une de ses lettres : « (quotation of the letter dated April 16, 1645). » Les Journalistes de Leipsic en parlent d'une manière plus juste lorsqu'ils disent que c'est un livre rempli d'excellents préceptes, parmi lesquels sont mêlés plusieurs paradoxes. » Page 357 is to be found the following appreciation on *Vulgar Errors* : « C'est un excellent ouvrage qui renferme bien des choses curieuses. » As to *Nature's Cabinet unlocked*, it is impossible to believe Browne to be the author of it : « C'est une pure compilation tirée de la Physique de Magirus et faite par un ignorant qui y est tombé en plusieurs fautes grossières dont Browne était incapable. » (p. 360).

98. DUCLOS, ABBÉ. — *Dictionnaire bibliographique. historique et critique des livres rares et précieux*, etc., Paris, Cailleau, 1740. 3 vols. 8°.

T. I, p. 200 : « *Religio Medici*, auctore Thomâ Brown. Lugd. Batav. 1664, in-12. 3 à 4 liv. » Next is mentioned the French translation of 1668, which is worth from 4 to 6 *livres*, being, « plus recherchée que l'*original* latin à cause des notes curieuses qu'elle renferme et qui ne se trouvent point dans l'édition latine. » (The Abbé Duclos believes Merryweather's translation to be the Latin original).

99. CHAUFÉPIÉ, JAKES, GEORGES DE. — *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique et critique pour servir de supplément ou de continuation au Dictionnaire historique et cri-*

tique de Mr Pierre Bayle, Amsterdam & La Haye, 1740-1746, 4 vols. fol.

T. II, pp. 449-452 : usual biographical details borrowed from *The Life of Sir Thomas Browne and Minutes for the Life of Sir Thomas Browne*, by John Whitefoot, at the beginning of *Posthumous Works* (1712). (See also *supra*, n° 70).

100. MORÉRI, LOUIS. — *Le grand dictionnaire historique, ou le mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, etc. Paris, 1759, 10 vols. fol. (1st ed. 1674 ; the preceding editions do not mention Browne).

T. II, p. 314 : usual biographical details. Browne's death is dated 1680 instead of 1682. Follows a list of his works.

101. CHAUDON, L. M. — *Nouveau dictionnaire historique portatif ou histoire abrégée de tous les grands hommes qui se sont fait un nom par des talens*, etc. Amsterdam, 1766, 4 vols. 8°.

Vol. I, p. 362 : usual biographical details.

102. CARRÈRE, JOSEPH-FRANÇOIS. — *Bibliothèque littéraire, historique et critique de la médecine ancienne et moderne*, etc., Paris, Ruault, 1776, 2 vols. 4°.

T. II, p. 180 : (a) usual biographical details ; (b) analysis of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*. « Cet ouvrage contient une érudition variée, instructive et curieuse, mais Brown, en relevant les erreurs de quelques auteurs, n'a pas su entièrement s'en garantir » (p. 181) ; (c) *Religio Medici*. « Cet ouvrage a fait douter de la religion de son auteur, qui paraît néanmoins avoir toujours été attaché à la Religion Anglicane. » (p. 182) ; (d) *Opera*, ed. of 1680, mentioned without comment.

103. ÉLOY, N. F. J. — *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine ancienne et moderne*, Paris, Hoyois, 1778, 4°.

P. 459 : this appreciation of *Religio* : « Il est à propos de se souvenir que l'irréligion qui a fait la base de son traité lui a mérité la censure la plus sévère des catholiques romains. » On *Pseudodoxia*, a literal repetition of the criticism of *Encyclopédie Méthodique* (See next entry).

104. ENCYCLOPÉDIE. — *Encyclopédie méthodique par ordre de matières, par une société de gens de lettres*, etc., Paris, Panckoucke, 1782 ff., 166 vols. fol.

Médecine, t. iv, p. 173 : usual biographical details. Browne is supposed to have retired to Norwich only towards the end of his life and the date of his death is assumed to be 1680 (instead of 1682). *Pseudodoxia* was an excellent work when it was written, but now it has grown somewhat obsolete « puisque les erreurs qu'il combat sont presque tombées d'elles-mêmes, à la faveur des lumières qui ont éclairé notre siècle. »

105. MARÉCHAL, SYLVAIN. — *Dictionnaire des athées anciens et modernes par Sylvain Maréchal (aidé de feu Jérôme Lalande)*, Paris, Grabit, an VIII, 8°.

The following allusion to Browne is to be found s. v. *Religion* : « Th. Brown médecin, composa un livre philosophique sous le titre : *Religio medici*. Bayle traduisait plaisamment ce titre par le *médecin de la religion*, jugeant que la lecture de cet ouvrage pourrait contribuer à la guérison des préjugés religieux. » (p. 245). (Allusion to passage in *Eclaircissements sur les Pyrrhoniens*, quoted *supra* n° 91 (b).

106. MICHAUD, J. F. — *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne... rédigée par une société de gens de lettres et de savants*, Paris, 1811 ff., 55 vols. 8°.

T. VI, pp. 61-63 : Browne (Thomas), by M. D[u] P[etit-Thouars] : usual biographical information. On *Pseudodoxia* some indifferent lines of criticism : « Plusieurs auteurs avant et après Browne ont écrit sur le même sujet et il leur est supérieur si ce n'est

par le fond du moins par la manière dont il le traite [...] ; il déploie dans tous ses ouvrages une vaste érudition, mais quelquefois il se trompe et il remplace une erreur par une autre. Il attaque même des vérités qui déjà paraissent alors démontrées et il semble douter du système de Copernic. » Johnson's appreciation on Browne's style is quoted *in fine*.

107. FELLER, ABBÉ F. X. DE. — *Dictionnaire historique ou histoire abrégée des hommes qui se sont fait un nom par le génie*, etc. Lyon, Rolland, 1821-1823, 10 vols. 8°.

Vol. II, pp. 531-532 : Usual biographical details.

108. DEZEIMERIS OLLIVIER et RAIGE-DELOREME. — *Dictionnaire historique de la médecine ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1828 ff., 4 vols. 8°.

T. I, p. 536 : Though Browne was faithful to the Anglican Church, his personal ideas on several points of religious doctrine caused him to be considered as an atheist, but he was not one by any means. As to *Pseudodoxia*, « Ce livre augmenta beaucoup la réputation de Browne. L'auteur y montre des connaissances étendues sur la physique de son temps et y déploie une vaste érudition. Il combat les erreurs populaires à l'aide de raisonnement sans employer le sarcasme ni l'ironie. Cet ouvrage mérite encore d'être lu quoiqu'il n'ait plus aujourd'hui le même degré d'utilité. »

109. CHASLES, PHILARÈTE. — *Etudes sur l'Antiquité*, Paris, Amyot, 1847, 18°¹.

Pp. 139-192 : *Essai sur les destinées et les sources des langues teutoniques et latines*². P. 172 : « Cer-

1. We are indebted to Miss Margaret Phillips (University College of Wales, Aberystwyth) for the entries in this Bibliography referring to Philarète Chasles, and we have pleasure in offering her again our warmest thanks for her kindness in putting at our disposal her thorough knowledge of the work of the French polygraph.

2. The latin text of this *Essai* was presented as a thesis at the Sorbonne on June 28, 1841.

tains mots latins que les savants ont tenté de faire entrer dans leur langue n'ont pu y prendre racine : Thomas Browne et Burton n'ont pas réussi à doter leur pays de *clancularly* (de *clanculum*), ni de *immo-rigerate*, *intererate* et autres ¹ ».

110. CHASLES, PHILARÈTE. — *Etudes sur le XVIII^e siècle en Angleterre*, Paris, Amyot, 1847, 12°

Pp. 122-136 : *Un livre bizarre de Southey*. P. 123 : « Ces livres découus, bizarres, érudits, poétiques, extravagants, mais riches de style et de pensée, sont depuis longtemps pour l'Angleterre, un objet de prédilection spéciale. L'*Anatomie de la mélancolie*, par Burton ; l'*Hydriotaphia* de Brown ; les singulières poésies de Wither ; [...] ont précédé les quatres volumes du *Doctor*. »

111. COLLIN DE PLANCY, J. — *Dictionnaire des sciences occultes*, Paris, Migne, 1848, 2 vols. 4°.

Vol. I, col. 272 : Browne is known here only as author of *Pseudodoxia* « a learned book » which may still be useful though most of the errors refuted in it are no more current. Follows a short analysis of the seven books of the treatise. The article closes on an allusion to the trial of the witches at Bury St. Edmunds, where Browne's evidence is said to have caused the witches to be sentenced to death. The compiler's judgment on Browne's work, that it « may still be useful » appears no mere speculation when one considers how freely he has availed himself of it (See *supra*, n° 86).

112. CHASLES, PHILARÈTE. — *Etudes sur la littérature et les mœurs de l'Angleterre au XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Amyot, 1851, 12°.

Pp. 3-29 : *Du génie de la langue anglaise*. P. 19 : « Vous pouvez écrire en anglais un livre latin, — ou français, — ou allemand ; — tant le caractère de

1. We are not aware of these words being used by Thomas Browne.

cette langue est essentiellement composite [...] » P. 20 : « Il y a telle phrase du médecin Thomas Brown, contemporain de Guy Patin, qui n'est plus intelligible pour les Anglais d'aujourd'hui, tant elle est latine : « *Those umbratile (umbratiles) politicians (politicoi) who ratiocinate (ratiocinari) clancularly (clanculum)* »¹ » ; on croit entendre le *Janotus à Bragmardo* de notre ami Pantagruel, « qui *déambule* par le *dilicule*. »

113. DEZOBRY, CH. et TH. BACHELET. — *Dictionnaire général de Biographie et d'histoire*, etc., Paris, Delagrave, 1857, 2 vols. 4°.

Vol. I : *Browne (Sir Thomas)* : usual biographical details followed by this appreciation on Browne's works : « Singuliers ouvrages d'une science rêveuse, d'une imagination bizarre et d'un style quelquefois trop ardent. » (The article is signed A. G[effroy], professeur à la faculté des lettres de Paris).

114. MILSAND, J. A. — *Thomas Browne, le médecin philosophe de Norwich*, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Paris, 1858, XIV^e vol., 1^{er} avril, pp. 646-685 ; XVI^e vol., 1^{er} août, pp. 632-661.

The two articles published by J. A. Milsand in *Revue des Deux-Mondes* are the first and completest study of Browne's work and genius and as such, for all their shortcomings, deserve a thorough analysis, at least as far as the non-biographical part is concerned.

(A) 1st ARTICLE

Une époque de transition scientifique.

Some authors are liable to see their glory fade or brighten up again according to times and fashions.

1. None of these words is Browne's invention and we do not know where he may have used them.

So is it with Browne ; after being highly admired, he was quite forgotten during the « reign of reason », then he came into vogue again under the influence of S. T. Coleridge. Thomas Browne is the foremost in the group of the « prosateurs ravissants » made up of Jer. Taylor, Bunyan, Walton, Evelyn, George Herbert. He is among them the most original and genial. Geniality is his characteristic ; by it he wins our praise and approval whatever we may think of his personal notions.

Still Browne can hardly be a favourite with rationalists. Though he has scientific curiosity and zeal, he proves too often overcredulous. How are both tendencies to be reconciled ? « The credulity is of the time, the sagacity of the man » is a possible answer. Whereas others are apt to think that science was nothing to him but a food for dreams. Such judgments are too absolute. Reason and fantasy are blended in Browne into the harmonious temper of a man who had a critical mind and was at the same time a visionary. He is not abnormal, he is a true representative of the first pioneers of modern science (pp. 651-652).

(a). — Current details on Browne's life and entourage. — Browne as an experimental investigator : his scientific research is shot through by freaks of fancy, « he resorts to the evidence of facts in order to satisfy fabulous curiosities. » It was the spirit of the time ; science was believed to be a kind of white magic. Browne belongs to the preceding century by his desultory curiosity ; he differs from it by his marked taste for experimental truth. In writing *Pseudodoxia* he attempted a difficult and useful task. He was exactly fitted for it. More sceptical he would have dismissed without probing them many false traditions, which had to be positively done away with. The success he met with was well deserved. Browne is not merely a scientist ; now and then he will allow his personal emotion to burst out in the middle of an argument. This gives his book quite a peculiar charm (p. 665).

(b). — Analysis of *Pseudodoxia*. — Browne's ideal is not an utilitarian's like Bacon's. He is an enthusiast, and has something childlike and spontaneous that makes him delightful (p. 667). Still he is full of common sense in his refutations and is quite aware of the complexity of things. Though explanations by « occult properties » were rather congenial to him, he showed great prudence in the handling of them and has this remarkable observation that « occult properties » are nothing but unexplained natural phenomena (p. 672). He is just as cautious as regards final causes. Of course he preserves many illusions, but they give a flavour to his work (p. 681). The ancient superstitions of humanity are raised here like so many pleasant ghosts that he dispels with a gentle hand.

(B) 2nd ARTICLE

Une époque de transition morale

(a). — Browne is above all original. But the originality is not altogether his own ; it belongs to his time, a period of transition which is marked by a double current of thought, the one intellectual, with Bacon, the other imaginative, with Shakespeare. Both currents meet in Browne's mind.

(b). — Analysis of *The Garden of Cyrus* and *Hydriotaphia*. In *Religio* Browne displays his spirit of tolerance, his Christian spiritualism and moralism, and also his dreamy melancholy in vivid contrast with Shakespeare's joyful liveliness and manly energy (p. 651). Browne lacks buoyancy, he seems indifferent to success or failure (*ibid.*).

(c). — In *Religio* is to be found the mixture of dreaming fancy and critical reason which is the characteristic of Browne's genius. A meditative and reasonable mind, Browne is fond of observation for the opportunities it affords him to comment upon its results. His occasional lack of balance comes from his

being more imaginative than methodical (p. 654). This contrast accounts for his qualities and faults. Browne's flights of fancy are checked by a firm common sense ; hence these flashing periods of his where he drives his thought to a climax comparable to fireworks he lets off in the exultation of having freed himself of the burden his mind was labouring under (p. 654).

Browne's style is bright, but only in the imaginative parts of his work, when he describes his own feelings, not when he expounds facts. In the latter case, he has « une élocution rugueuse et mal jointe, souvent trouble et peu grammaticale. » (ibid.).

The chief merits of Browne are his poetical mind and the moral loftiness of his thought. These are conspicuous in his posthumous work *Christian Morals*, where he shows his « most constant and undeniable superiority. » In these pages his style is at its very best, « never were his imagination and memory readier to put their treasures at the service of his thought ». (p. 655). One feels that Browne is here in his own domain. *Christian Morals* is a labour of love and never redolent of its author's old age. Indeed, if Browne as a thinker might prove at times feeble and wandering, as a moralist he is full of energy and decision.

Why has our time taken a fancy for Thomas Browne again ? It is because we find blended in him the two antagonistic feelings of our inner selves. The XVIIIth century in its worship of reason had mutilated the human soul. We do not wish any longer man to be nothing but a rational creature, we want him to realize his whole nature by obeying at the same time the impulse of his imaginative and rational power.

115. GRAESSE, J. G. CH. — *Trésor de livres rares et précieux*, etc... Dresde, Kuntze, 1859, 7 vols., 4°.

T. I, p. 549 : quoted : *Religio Medici*, 1642 and 1733 ed. ; the Latin, German, French and Dutch trans-

lations. *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, 1672 ed., and the French translation by Souchay. *Works*, 1686 ; Wilkin, ed., 1635-1636 ; *Posthumous Works*, 1712, 1711 (p) and 1723 ed.

116. BRUNET, JACQUES-CHARLES. — *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, etc., Paris, Didot, 1860-1865 (5th ed.), 6 vols. 8°.

T. I, col. 1281 : *Brown ou Browne (Th.)*. The following works are quoted : translation of *Religio* by N. Le Febvre (see *supra* n° 68), valued from 3 to 5 francs ; the Latin editions of Strasbourg (1652) and Francfort (1692) ; the English edition of 1642 ; *Works*, 1686 ; *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, 1646, 1673 ; the French translation of *Enquiries* by Souchay, 1733 (see *supra* n° 69) ; *Posthumous Works*, 1812 ; Wilkin's edition of the *Works*, 1836, 1852.

117. HOEFER, Dr. — *Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps reculés jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris, Didot, 1862 ff., 46 vols. 8°.

Vol. VII, p. 555 : usual biographical details.

118. TAINE, H. — *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Hachette, 1863, 4 vols, 8°.

Vol. I, Bk. II, ch. i, par. iv, pp. 360-365 (cf. short ref. to Browne pp. 347, 348, 349, 350). (The numbers refer to the 12th (1905) ed., 5 vols. 16°) : Browne's is a kindred mind to Shakespeare, but instead of creating he is busy comprehending. A scholar and an observer he applies himself to penetrating the internal structure of living things. Scrupulous as he is in observing the minutest details of their outward appearance, he does not stop at this region of observation but is eager to discern beyond visible phenomena a world of darkness and of mystery on whose surface our petty universe keeps quivering.

Browne is at the same time a naturalist, a philosopher, a scholar, a physician and a moralist. He is a remarkable representative of his age by his inventive and capricious curiosity and is endowed with the brilliant and sombre imagination of the North. No writer has ever spoken with more thrilling eloquence of the dreadful mystery of death and of human vanity endeavouring to create a transient immortality out of sculptured monuments. No writer has brought out by a more glowing and original style the poetical sap that flowed through all the minds of the age (p. 360). (Quotation of extracts from *Hydriotaphia*, ch. v, pp. 361-362 (see *supra*, n° 72).

In the passages just quoted Browne has spoken like a poet. It is still the poet that we shall find in the scientist. Poetical imagination urged Browne onward into science. He explores nature with a sort of divining power « stretching out his guesses like so many supple and quivering feelers to the four quarters of the world, to the farthest regions of fancy and truth. » He stands before nature like an artist before a living face, reading its outward features into an interpretation of its inner character. All the Middle-Ages and Antiquity with their philosophical doctrines : Platonism, Kabbalism, Christian theology, have met in Browne's head to open up new vistas for him through this strange universe. He is in a thrilling state of expectation that makes his curiosity eagerly take hold of anything : archeology, chemistry, history, nature, are all objects of passionate interest for him. But something in Browne announces modern science ; he is able to check this effervescent imagination, his mind is swarming with doubts as well as explanations. He does not mistake a conjecture for a solution, he proposes his guesses for verification, and knows how to end an argument with a *perhaps*. « When the quest is so eager, when the ways it follows are so many, when it is so careful in securing its hold, we may be sure of the issue of the chase, we are close upon truth. » (p. 365).

119. BIZOUARD, JOSEPH. — *Des rapports de l'homme avec le démon, essai historique et philosophique*, Paris, Gaume, 1863-1864, 6 vols. 8°.

Vol. III, pp. 160-163 : Thomas Browne is mentioned among the « savants qui restent attachés à la doctrine de l'intervention du démon ». In support of this assertion several passages of *Religio Medici* are quoted (from the Latin translation) : Pt. I, sect. 18, 19 and 30. The analogy of Browne's view regarding the intervention of spirits to the Catholic doctrine is pointed out : « Quoique Brown fût anglican, sa doctrine sur le démon diffère peu de celle des catholiques ; celle-ci étant plus raisonnable, elle a obtenu la préférence chez cet homme judicieux. » (p. 162). In his *Essai sur les erreurs populaires* Browne has very cleverly disclosed the manifold tricks practised on us by the devil. « Ainsi, quoique Th. Brown connût les progrès de la science, ce savant, qui a fait un livre sur les erreurs populaires, regarde aussi comme la pire des erreurs celle de vouloir expliquer naturellement des faits qui ne sauraient s'expliquer que par l'action des esprits. On est surpris de voir Brown au milieu de ses corréligionnaires qui nient le retour des âmes parce qu'ils rejettent le purgatoire, considérer comme une erreur satanique ce qui tend à rendre les apparitions suspectes : les apparitions des défunts étant en effet la preuve la plus irréfragable de l'immortalité de l'âme. » (p. 163)

120. LAROUSSE, P. — *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Larousse, 1866 ff., 17 vols. 4°.

Vol. II, p. 1324 : usual biographical details.

121. DECHAMBRE, A. — *Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales*, Paris, Masson, 1869 ff., 100 vols. 8°.

Vol. XI, p. 171 : short biographical details and this appreciation on *Religio* : it is still read with interest, though it is written in a harsh, jarring, pedantic and

obscure style, for it contains deep and judicious thoughts.

122. **SAINTE-BEUVE, C. A.** — *Nouveaux Lundis*, Paris, Lévy, 1863-1872, 10 vols. 12° (The quotations refer to the 2nd ed., 1872).

Vol. VIII, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise par M. Taine*, pp. 96-98 : Thomas Browne, a strange scholar, no less learned than Robert Burton, was both a poetic and encyclopædical collector of knowledge. He has been so vividly depicted by Taine that he is not now to be forgotten. Browne is modern and stimulating by some of his views ; but he has also fits of deep melancholy and scepticism before the irreparable gaps in the history of mankind : (quotation of the translation by Taine of the passage in *Hydriothaphia*, « But the iniquity of oblivion... Twenty-seven names make up the first story, and the recorded names ever since contain not one living century. ») This is, observes Sainte-Beuve, a remarkable thought and quite worthy to be repeated, for science, though it may be proud of its conquests, can only snatch a few fragments from the enormous mass of unknown facts. « Pensée mémorable et qu'il faut répéter, même en présence du légitime orgueil de la science reconquérant par lambeaux le passé, mais par lambeaux seulement. Oui, même en sortant de lire, hier encore, l'intéressant et lumineux rapport de M. de Rougé sur les antiquités égyptiennes et sur ces quelques noms de plus arrachés à l'oubli, je ne pouvais m'empêcher de me redire cette parole. Que de lacunes, en effet, hors de toute proportion avec ce qu'on sait et ce qu'on ne saura jamais ! Que de trouées immenses, irréparables ! Hasard, Hasard, si l'on veut rester vrai, on ne fera jamais ta part assez grande, ni l'on ne donnera jamais les coups de canif assez profonds dans toute philosophie de l'histoire. »

123. **DANTÈS, ALFRED.** — *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique des hommes les plus remarquables dans*

les lettres, les sciences et les arts, etc., Paris, Boyer, 1875, 8°.

Short biographical notice with this appreciation :
« Ses écrits témoignent d'une ardente imagination et de son goût pour la rêverie. »

124. BOUCHER, L. — *Tableau de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Cerf, 1882, 16°.

P. 62 : « Sir Thomas Brown faisait lire à l'Europe entière la *Religion du Médecin*, sorte de confession où il se dépeignait lui-même, avec moins d'art et de profondeur que Montaigne, non pourtant sans une grâce d'originalité naïve ».

125. FILON, AUGUSTIN. — *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Hachette, 1883, 16°

P. 237-238 : « Sir Thomas Browne spent all the time of political troubles in his laboratory of Norwich. The same year when the king came himself to arrest five members of the Parliament, and when the crowd attacked his coach with the cry, « To your tents, O Israel ! » Browne publishes his *Religio Medici*, a pot-pourri in Montaigne's manner, made up of the queerest things and the most useless. The king is sent to the scaffold ; the civil war is carried on in passionate polemics, into which everyone who is able to hold a pen throws himself headlong ; Browne thinks this is the proper time to refute in his *Pseudodoxia* common errors regarding the cockatrice and the griffin. At last, the very year when Cromwell dies he brings out *Hydriotaphia*, an uncouth disquisition about burials and cemeteries. Shut up in his study as in a stronghold, a citizen of the Latin Republic rather than of the English Commonwealth, Browne belongs to his country only by his oddity. »

This sorry piece of crabbed and ignorant criticism would admit of a comment that to be effective would not fit in with the proportions and the scope of the

present bibliography¹. Suffice it to say that A. Filon either had not read or had not understood Browne. In either case he might better have modestly followed the laudatory commonplaces to be found in ordinary text-books of literature about Thomas Browne. In doing so he would have been less original, but not ridiculous.

126. CHEVRILLON, A. — *Qui fuerint sæculo XVII imprimis apud Hobbesium Anglicæ solutæ orationis progressum*, Insulæ, L. Danel, 1893, 8° (Thesis).

Pp. 25, 26, 86, 88, 89 : short references to Browne's works.

127. TEXTE, JOSEPH. — *Etudes de littérature européenne*, Paris, Colin, 1898, 12°.

Pp. 51-93, *La descendance de Montaigne, Sir Thomas Browne*² : though Browne is not a disciple of Montaigne, he should be placed among those who have borrowed from him his turn of imagination, his unquenchable curiosity and manner of writing.

Browne was a man of the Renaissance wandering in the XVIIth century. He has been left untouched by the intellectual and political upheaval of 1642-1650. He was a Montaigne less deep, more dreamy and fantastic, more religious also, who really lived in the XVIth century (p. 62). He had quite a fresh imagination, and spent his days wondering at the sight of the universe. Studying was the joy of his life. Still he is but an amateur scientist, especially interested in strange facts, and he does not care for coordinating them (p. 66).

In *Pseudodoxia* he has freely evinced his foible for

1. For its refutation see our study, *Le Chevalier Thomas Browne*, Paris, 1931, Pt. I, ch. iii, § ii and ch. vii, § vii.

2. First published under the title : *Un Montaigne anglais : la vie et l'œuvre de Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682)*, in *Revue de Belgique*, February and March 1898, pp. 170-185 and 236-254.

the marvellous, discussing with great seriousness a lot of absurdities that a Newton would have scorned to refute. But the work, useless as it is to scientists, may appeal to moralists, for Browne put into it « much humour and Rabelaisian jollity. » (p. 67). We should not mistake Browne for a scientist. He is a moralist who, « to amuse himself with human absurdities has profusely borrowed from *Pantagruel* or the *Essais*. » (p. 69). By his very intellectual qualities by his brisk imagination and originality, Browne was unfit for pure science ; but he was admirably suited for writing this kind of moral autobiography, *Religio Medici*. Montaigne's influence is traceable in every page of it (p. 70), if not by direct borrowing at least by « le ton, l'esprit, je ne sais quoi de libre et de cavalier » (p. 70-71), which discloses an attentive but independant reader of Montaigne ¹.

Though Browne declares that he is willing to keep the road in theology, he very often strays into forbidden paths. For instance he cannot help believing that the souls of men perish with their bodies and will only revive on the last Day ; he objects to damnation being eternal and feels inclined to pray for the dead (p. 74) ².

Browne is toleration itself. « He is too much of a humorist to war against others' opinions so long as they are not ridiculous » (p. 78). He is comparable in this to the Latitudinarians. He is indeed a very liberal and even charitable man. In fact he could not bring himself to hating anybody, but the devil « And still it is not quite certain. » (p. 83).

Browne's humour leaves him, though, when he approaches some grave subjects which he treats in a

1. The author is aware of Browne's denial of borrowing from Montaigne, but brushes it away offhandedly enough. For a discussion of his point of view, cf. *supra*, sect. ii.

2. The present tense used by the author, « il ne peut s'empêcher de croire, etc. », is, here, quite misleading. As everybody knows, Browne refers, in the said passage, to errors of his past life which he now disclaims. Cf. *Rel. Med.*, Pt. I, s. 6.

most solemn manner and in stirring accents. Death for instance. This disciple of Rabelais knew moments of deep melancholy (p. 85).

Why did Browne feel melancholy ? Because he is confronted with the mystery of his own self ; because of the imperfection of his fellow beings and the humiliation of death.

Human nothingness is more vividly impressed on Browne's mind than on Montaigne's ; but whereas Montaigne's religious sincerity remains doubtful, Browne's does not. His thought is essentially and profoundly religious.

There are two men in Browne : the sceptic and the believer ; but the latter has the best of it. Though he has pessimistic views, he cannot be said to be a pessimist. And even, by a strange contrast, this man, who is one of the gloomiest writers in his century, is also one of those who have most thoroughly enjoyed the pleasure of life and no one was ever better entitled than he to write these words, « Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any. » (p. 93) ¹.

128. REVUE D'HISTOIRE LITTÉRAIRE DE LA FRANCE,
Vol. V, 1898.

Chronique, p. 501 : note on *Un Montaigne anglais*, by J. Texte (cf. *supra*, n° 127, p. 67, n. 2) : an interesting and well-informed study on the fascinating character of Thomas Browne, « l'un des premiers exemples de cet humorisme qu'il a contribué à acclimater, et qui revit très joliment sous la plume de M. Joseph Texte. »

129. JUSSERAND, J. J. — *Histoire littéraire du peuple anglais*, Paris, Didot, 1894-1904, 2 vols. 8°.

1. Cf. *Rel. Med.*, Pt. II, s. 11. We have tried elsewhere to show that in its context the sentence of Browne does not admit of the interpretation of the French critic (*Le Chevalier Thomas Browne*, Pt. II, ch. iii, § viii).

Vol. II, ch. ix, pp. 871-873 : Browne has been observing carefully, candidly the microcosm of himself, and the result of it has been a remarkable essay of naturalistic psychology. As outspoken as Montaigne, Browne had not so much experience of life. Neither was he as spontaneous and bright. He is above all engrossed by the problem of death.

He has studied nature with his reason and by means of experimental methods and reads the Scripture with something of a critical mind. But on the whole he leaves the impression of a benevolent thinker, liberal and pious.

Like the men of the Renaissance from whom he descends, like those of the XVIIIth century whom he announces, he professes himself a citizen of the world, and feels an aversion to the absurd and ignorant rabble which — he observes in a manner quite worthy of the XVIIIth century — « has its representatives amongst the gentry. »

Browne « owes the merits of his style to the qualities of his heart. Sincere and honest, he is naturally simple and eloquent without effort. »

130. DEROQUIGNY, JULES. — *Charles Lamb, sa vie et ses Œuvres*, Lille, 1904, 8°. (Thesis).

Pp. 334-335 : though Thomas Browne was a great favourite of Lamb's he has been at times playfully dealt with by him ; but there is nothing bitter in Lamb's banter about him. He was a keen lover of Browne's splendid rhetoric and subtle humour, and both authors had much in common. Still there were also differences between them ; Browne boasts of his learning, Lamb of his ignorance ; Browne says he has no prejudices, Lamb confesses he is full of them ; Browne is indifferent to death, Lamb is deeply in love with life.

Pp. 375-376 : when he is in his serious mood, Lamb imitates Browne's style, his Latinisms, his delicate humour, his alliterations, his rich harmonious

prose. Sometimes too he borrows his gorgeous diction with a view to giving a ludicrous effect of bombast.

131. CHARLANNE, L. — *L'influence française en Angleterre au XVII^e siècle. Le théâtre et la critique. Etude sur les relations littéraires de la France et de l'Angleterre, surtout dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1906, 8° (Thesis).

Pp. 90-92 : Browne's *Religio* was well known to French scholars. Quotations from Guy Patin's letters (Cf. *supra*, n° 88). The 1st edition of *Religio* is dated 1635 instead of 1642.

132. THOMAS, WALTER. — *Littérature anglaise*, Paris, Larousse, [1909], 12°.

P. 82 : « Sir Th. Browne (1605-1682) cède dans sa *Religio Medici* (1642) à un tendre mysticisme qui se manifeste d'une façon curieuse et parfois même bizarre, et qui se retrouve dans *Hydriotaphia* (1658) et *The Garden of Cyrus*, avec un sens de l'harmonie de la phrase auquel le médecin de Norwich doit d'être devenu l'un des premiers virtuoses de la prose poétique. »

133. KOSZUL, A. — *Anthologie de la littérature anglaise*, Paris, Delagrave, 1912, 2 vols. 16°.

Vol. I, pp. 252-253 : (a) translation of Pt. I, s. 32, of *Religio* (see, *supra*, n° 74) ; (b) short notice on Browne : he is one of the strangest and most original minds of his century. His books are full of meditations which are both deep, naive and quaint, shot with all kinds of learned reminiscences and couched in quite a curious style, clear and light in its syntax, but burdened with Latinisms and obscured with fantastic similes. A vigorous and highly imaginative writer, Thomas Browne was bound to become a favourite with a

Romantic like Coleridge. At the same time, a classic like Samuel Johnson was fond of him. Browne's works are a mine of vivid and generally subtle thoughts which has been used by a few daring minds even on the Continent.

134. BALDENSPERGER, FERNAND. — *La tradition moderne de l'humour*, Cours de M. F. Baldensperger, Chargé de cours à l'Université de Paris, *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, January, April, 1913, pp. 740-756.

Ch. III, pp. 754-756, *Thomas Browne* — *La « Religio Medici »* — *Le « Spectateur » d'Addison et de Steele* : after Burton, among Montaigne's followers we find Thomas Browne, who is interested in every science, fond of what is rare and curious, a keen lover of music. His *Religio Medici* may be regarded as his spiritual autobiography. Humour was to this liberal-minded man a shelter against the contradictions of life and the deficiencies of learning. He is an egotist but not an egoist. His point of view is that of Montaigne but he lays more stress on the religious element. Of Montaigne too he has the easy-going, desultory style. Though religious, he is tolerant to an extent that caused him to be accused of atheism. His *Religio* contains sharp hits at marriage ; but he lived forty happy years with his wife. In 1646 he published *Pseudodoxia* where he blends stale scholasticism with a witty spirit of observation which is his peculiar form of humour. So, in the midst of Puritan England, are still alive some of the tendencies of the Renaissance : a kind of humour which chiefly resides in tone, behaviour and bent, a wish not to hurry into any opinion, something equally removed from mysticism and ungodly frivolity. The whole world is but a show to Burton and Browne. They take up Montaigne's attitude again — Browne with less scepticism, Burton with a will to resist a deep-seated melancholy. These humorists have also a taste for concrete reality and a kind of spirit of contradiction that foretell the com-

ing (about 1711) of a genuine English type, Roger de Coverley.

135. CAILLET, ALBERT. — *Manuel bibliographique des sciences psychiques ou occultes*, Paris, Lucien Dorbon, 1913, 3 vols. 8°.

Vol. I, p. 250, n° 1704 : *Essai sur les Erreurs Populaires*, « a very curious work full of interesting observations on many subjects » ; Nos 1705, 1706 : *Religio Medici*, « a strange book dealing with mysteries, magic, apparitions, dreams, etc. »

136. LEGOUIS, EMILE. — *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, by E. Legouis & L. Cazamian, Paris Hachette, 1924, 16°.

(A) Pt. I. Bk. v. : *La fin de la Renaissance*, ch. i : *La prose de 1625 à 1660*, § 2 : *Sir Thomas Browne* (pp. 512-516) : like Burton, Browne was a wonderfully read man ; like him he lived in studious seclusion complacently following the subtle thread of his thought ; like him he was an eccentric, nearly forgotten in the XVIIIth century, brought again into credit by Lamb and the Romantics. But whereas Burton was a clergyman absorbed by medical problems, Browne was a physician by trade and a divine or a preacher by inclination. He was moreover a mystic. Browne has revealed his complex soul in *Religio Medici*. Contrarily to Patin's appreciation, neither « prettiness » nor wit are the striking qualities of the book. Browne's occasional likeness to a thinker of the XVIIIth century is superficial, he knows nothing of the worship of reason ; all his learning has led him to the contempt of knowledge. Browne has renewed the common themes of the preacher with the reminiscences of his queer erudition rekindling the ashes of the remotest historical past and constantly calling up the universe with its cosmographical phenomena. Hence the frequent quaintness but also the loftiness of his thoughts and

imagery. Browne shows affinities with Donne and the « metaphysical » poets.

His fancy is given free play in *The Garden of Cyrus*, where a vein of humour relieves the queerness of the inspiration.

Even when he deals with the subject that he has the deepest concern with, oblivion, Browne gives the reins to his sprightly imagination. So does he for instance in *Hydriotaphia*.

Sometimes Browne recalls Montaigne and his familiar conversation, sometimes, by the grandeur of his cosmic evocations he seems to foreshadow Pascal. « But the favourable light in which he never fails to place himself, his eagerness to set himself up on a pedestal [...] make us yearn after Montaigne's fuller, livelier and more candid confidences. Whereas he is severed from Pascal by something like a complacent redundancy smacking of literary artifice, where rhetoric shows itself too much, and also by a taste for the bizarre suggestive of less keen and fiery seriousness in him than in Pascal. »

Browne is an artist rather than a thinker ; he is more interesting as a writer than as a man. But as a prosaist he is admirable. His style is quite different from Burton's. He has short sharply outlined sentences. His construction is simple and modern. What Browne dates by is his latinized vocabulary. Burton would leave a Latin word in his sentence ; Browne will anglicize it. He shows a preference for the learned terms of classical extraction. But he is often led into using Latinisms by his love of rhythm. He believes in musical prose just as a poet does in musical verse. He had a passion for harmony. « Guided by this passion, Browne instinctively uses the most melodious words, those which make his phrases most musical. So subtle are his sonorities that few poets can afford in their verse a choicer feast to the ear than does the rhetoric of the mystical doctor. »

(B) *Ibidem* : Pt. II (by L. CAZAMIAN). ch. v :

L'époque romantique, p. 1024 : a short reference to Browne whose style was a model for Lamb.

137. ASCOLI, GEORGES. — *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, J. Gamber, 1930, 2 vols, 8°. (Thesis).

Vol. I, pp. 79-80 : *Thomas Browne et la Religio Medici* : quotations of Patin's letters on Browne (see *supra* n° 88). Thomas Browne was inclined to heresy : the dogma of the eternal chastisement of the wicked was abhorrent to him ; he believed that he might pray for the dead ; he regarded God as the soul of the universe and read as confidently the book of Nature as the Holy Scripture ; he enlarges with complacency on the natural explanations given of the miracles in the Bible and gently shakes the faith in Moses' miracles. But he is a deist and emphasizes his deistic belief in most noble terms.

138. LEROY, OLIVIER. — *Le Chevalier Thomas Browne, (1605-1682), Sa vie, sa pensée et son art*, Paris, J. Gamber, 1931, 8° (Thesis).

Pt. I, *La Vie* : i. Jeunesse et années d'études ; ii. Période d'activité littéraire ; iii. Browne et les événements politiques ; iv. Browne et ses fils ; v. Un procès de sorcellerie ; vi. Browne et son entourage ; vii. Vieillesse et dernières années ; viii. Regard d'ensemble sur l'homme et sur sa vie.

Pt. II, *La Pensée* : i. Le croyant et le philosophe ; ii. Le croyant et le philosophe (suite) ; iii. Le moraliste ; iv. L'humoriste ; v. Le savant et l'érudit ; vi. Les sources.

Pt. III, *L'Art* : i. Les formes et les couleurs ; ii. Composition et style ; iii. La langue et la musique.

Pt. IV, *Les Critiques* : i. XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles ; ii. Les romantiques ; iii. La critique moderne.

Conclusion. — Appendice : Examen critique des divergences entre le texte des éditions frauduleuses de *Religio Medici* (1642) et le texte de la première édition autorisée (1643) au point de vue de l'évolution possible de la pensée de Browne — *Bibliographie* — *Index des noms propres.*

VI

BROWNE AS A READER
AND IMITATOR OF RABELAIS

VI

BROWNE AS A READER AND IMITATOR OF RABELAIS

139. Though the works of Rabelais are not mentioned in the catalogue of Browne's library, either in original or translation, it appears that he has been a careful reader of Gargantua and Pantagruel. Not only has he referred to them in several places of his works (cf. *Rel. Med.*, I, 21 ; *Pseud.*, vii, xviii, 5 ; *Tract VIII, Of Languages, Works*, iv, p. 210). but he has attempted a very curious pastiche of Rabelais's style and wit in a fanciful letter composed to show a friend the difference between the French of his time and that of the XVIth century.

140. Wilkin has published the said piece in a note to the tract *Of Languages* with the following comment :

« In the MS. Sloan, 1827, I find the following very odd passage ; respecting which, most certainly, the author's assertion is incontrovertible, that « the sense may afford *some trouble*. » I insert it, not expecting that many readers will take that trouble — but it appeared too characteristic to be omitted. » (*Works*, iv, p. 210).

141. This is how Browne himself introduces his piece of old French :

« Now having wearied you with old languages or little understood, I shall put an end unto your trouble in modern French, by a short letter composed by me

for your sake, though not concerning yourself ; wherein, though the words be plain and genuine, yet the sense may afford some trouble. » (*Ibid.*).

142. In fact the text of Browne is not very hard to understand for anyone fairly familiar with XVIth century French especially if several mistakes made by Wilkin in transcribing the MS are done away with.

143. Here is the text revised on the MS (Sloane 1827, fol. 38-39) with necessary explanations and references to various passages of Rabelais from which Browne seems to have derived his inspiration ¹ :

« Monsieur, ne vous laissez plus manger la laine sur le dors ². Regardes bien ce gros magot ³, lequel vous voyez de si bon œil. Assurement il pappelarde ⁴ et fait le mitou ⁵. Monsieur, vous chaussez les lunettes de travers ⁶, ne voyant poynt comme il pratique vos dependants ⁷. Il s'est desia gueri de mal St. François ⁸, et bride sa mule a vostre despens ⁹. Croyes moy, il ne s'amuse a la moustarde ¹⁰ ; mais vous ayant miné et massacré vos affaires, au dernier coup il vous rendra Monsieur sans queue ¹¹.

1. M. J. Plattard, Professor of French Literature at the Faculté of Poitiers, the learned editor of Rabelais's Works has obliged us with the following references. We are happy to express once more our best thanks for his kindness.

2. A spelling used by some writers of the XVIth century from the etymology *dorsum*. Rabelais has *dours*.

3. Ugly and coarse person

4. He plays the hypocrite. Should be spelt with one p.

5. Same meaning. Should be *miton* (cat) or *mitouin*.

6. You are not aware of what is going on. Cf. *Pantagruel*, Bk. IV, *Nouveau Prologue*, « attendez que ie chausse mes lunettes ».

7. He bribes the people dependent on you.

8. He has recovered from the disease of poverty. Allusion to the friars of St. Francis' order having taken the vow of poverty.

9. He makes his pile out of your spoils.

10. He does not trifle.

11. Cf. *Gargantua*, I, xi, « Madame coupez vous la chose aux en-

« Mais pour l'autre goulafie ¹ et beueur a tire la rigau ², qui vous a si rognement fait la barbe ³, l'envoyes vous a Pampelune ⁴. Mais auparavant, a mon advis, il auroit a miserere jusques a vitulos ⁵, et je le ferois un moutton de Berry ⁶. En le traitant bellement et de bon conseil, vous asseyes de rompre un anguille sur les genoux ⁷. Ne lui fies poynt : il ne rabaissera le menton ⁸ et mourra dans sa peau ⁹. Il sçait bien que les belles paroles n'escorchent pas la gueule ¹⁰, lesquelles il payera a sepmaine des deux Jeudies ¹¹. Chasses le de chez vous a bonne heure, car il a esté

fans ? Il seroit monsieur sans queue ». In fact, it is doubtful that the expression is taken from Rabelais who himself uses it with an obscene play upon the words ; the current expression « sans queue » meaning : without any addition to his name. « Monsieur sans queue, c'était le frère du roi » (Gui Patin, *Nouvelles Lettres*, t. i, p. 339, quoted by Littré, *Dict.*, s. v. queue). The meaning is here, « he will ruin you, you will not be able to add to your name the name of any landed property, you will just be Mr. So-and-so. »

1. We only know the forms *gouliafre* or *gouliafe*. Browne's error comes from a simple transposition of letters. The word means *glutton*.

2. The ordinary spelling is *tire-larigot* ; the form *tire la rigaud* is also found. Cotgrave has the same as Browne.

3. He had the better of you. *Rognement* is probably used in the meaning of closely (?).

. Send him to the right about.

5. Cf. *Pantagruel*, Bk. III, ch. xxiii : « Et si iamais ie te peulx tenir en nostre chapitre a Mirebeau, tu auras du miserere jusques a vitulos. » An allusion to psalm 50 beginning with *Miserere mei Deus* and ending with « tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos » which the monks used to chant at matins while they chastised themselves with the discipline. Hence « avoir du miserere jusqu'à vitulos » or « en avoir depuis miserere jusqu'à vitulos ».

6. A man with some mark on the nose was called *mouton de Berry*. Here the meaning seems to be, « I should deal him a blow on the face so as to mark him ».

7. Rabelais has (*Pantagr.*, Bk. IV, ch. xli) : « Comment Pantagruel rompit les andouilles au genoil ». The proverbial expression was « rompre l'anguille au genou », meaning to attempt an impossible thing.

8. By opposition to « relever le menton », to be resolute. Here, « he will not yield ».

9. He will die as he is, without amending.

10. Fair promises do not cost much.

11. The common expression is « la semaine des trois (or quatre) jeudis ». That is, never.

a Naples sans passer les monts ¹ ; et encore que parle en maître, est patient de St. Cosme ².

« Soucies vous aussi de la garcionaire ³, chez vous, qu'elle n'ayst le mal de neuf moys. Assurement elle a le nez tourné à la friandise ⁴, et les talons bien courts ⁵. Elle jouera volontiers à l'Home ; et si le hault ne defend le bas ⁶, avant la venue des cicoignes, lui s'enlevra la jupe ⁷.

« Mais pour le petit Gymnosophe chez vous, caresses le vous aux bras ouverts. Voyez vous pas comme a toutes les menaces de Fortune il branle comme la Bastille ⁸ ? Vrayment il est stoic a vingt quatre carrats ⁹, et de mesme calibre avec les vieux Ascetiques. Alloran ¹⁰ lui vault autant que l'isle de France, et la tour de Cordan ¹¹ lui vault le mesme avec la Louvre.

« Serviteur très-humble,
« Thomas Browne ».

1. He caught the disease called *mal de Naples* (syphilis) without going to Italy.

2. He is under medical care. St Cosme, the patron saint of doctors.

3. For *garçonnière*, girl fond of *garçons*.

4. She is light.

5. A current jest, which is found in Rabelais, *Pantagr.*, Bk. V., ch. xxviii, « PANURGE. Les talons ? — FRÈRE. Courtz ».

6. Cf. *ibid.* « PANURGE. Le bas, quel ? — FRÈRE. Beau.

7. Cf. Oudin, *Curios. franç.*, « La jupe commence à se hausser », that is, she is with child. (*ap.* Littré, s. v. jupe).

8. The mistake is obvious, « il ne branle non plus que la Bastille » i. e. the right reading. He is shaken by nothing.

9. Cf. *Pantagr.*, Bk. III, ch. xxxviii, « Fol a 24 carats », downright fool.

10. A note of Browne explains that Alloran, Allusama, or *Insula Erroris*, is a small desolate islet of the Mediterranean between Carthage and Calo-de-tres-furcus. « where nothing liveth but coneys ».

11. A small island in the mouth of the river Garonne (again says Browne's note) where a lighthouse was set up.

VII

FRENCH BOOKS
IN BROWNE'S LIBRARY

VII

FRENCH BOOKS IN BROWNE'S LIBRARY

144. The following books are not all the French books that Browne possessed in his library. We have selected for the present list only those that belong to pure literature, to history or philosophy, leaving out merely technical works such as *Miroir de la Navigation ou Histoire de la Nature des Oyseaux*, which were on Browne's shelves not as French but as scientific books. We have of course omitted every book whose date of edition was posterior to Browne's death, as coming from the library of Edward his son, whose books were sold together with his own, without any other possible discrimination for us than the dates of edition. It must be admitted that no certainty can be obtained as regards the exact ownership of such and such a book in this mixed library of father and son. The likelihood to which we were reduced has still seemed reliable enough to engage us in working out the following document.

145. From this list it appears that Browne was not the out-and-out despiser of literature that has been sometimes painted¹. He seemed to keep himself fairly up to date in French literature, and carefully followed Descartes's production.

146. Our alphabetical arrangement of the books is not that of the catalogue where they are grouped accord-

1. Cf. Edmund Gosse, *Sir Thomas Browne*, London, 1905, p. 191.

ing to size. Neither are our entries a copy of those in the original document ; whenever possible we have completed the very bare information given in the catalogue. In several cases we have been unable to identify the editions referred to. In every case we have mentioned in brackets the number of the entry and the page in the catalogue.

147. Let us add as an excuse for attempting an apparently trifling work, that the sale catalogue of Browne's library is of exceptional rarity, only two copies being known as extant (*British Museum* and Sir William Osler's library). It has been thought useful in a French bibliography of Sir Thomas Browne to make more accessible whatever his library might contain denoting his interest in French literature.

AMYOT, *see* LONGUS.

BALZAC, GUEZ DE. — *Œuvres*, 2 vols. fol., Paris 1664 (p. 32, n° 27).

BELLAY, JOACH. DU. — *Œuvres françoises*, Paris, Morel, 1569, 8° (p. 34, n° 40).

BOILEAU, NICOLAS. — *Œuvres diverses du sieur D...*, avec le *Traité du sublime ou du merveilleux dans le discours, traduit du grec de Longin*, Paris, Thierry, 4° (A reprint of the 1st ed. of 1674) (p. 38, n° 228).

BRÉBEUF, GUILLAUME DE. — *La Pharsale de Lucain ou les guerres civiles de César et Pompée, mises en vers françois*, 1670, 8° (p. 36, n° 134).

COMMINES, PHIL. DE. — *Les mémoires de Messire Philippe de Commines*, etc. (no name of publisher, place of publication or date mentioned. From the format (12°), the edition possessed by Browne might be the 1648 issue, Leyde, Elzevier). (P. 36, n° 140).

CONTES. — *Recueil curieux de contes à rire*, Paris, 1658, 4° (p. 32, n° 41).

CYRANO de BERGERAC, SAVINIEN. — *Œuvres*, Paris, Ch. de Sercy, 1676, 2 vols. 12° (p. 36, n° 151).

This edition contains :

(a) *Lettres de M. de Bergerac ; Lettres satyriques du même ; Lettres amoureuses ; Le Pédant joué.*

(b) *L'histoire comique ou voyage de la lune.*

(c) *Nouvelles œuvres, contenant l'histoire comique : des Estats et Empires du Soleil et autres pièces divertissantes.*

DESCARTES, RENÉ. — *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences, plus la Dioptrique, les Météores et la Géométrie, qui sont des essais de cette méthode*, Leyde, Jean Maire, 1637, 4° (1st ed.) (p. 32, n° 20).

DESCARTES, RENÉ. — *Les Passions de l'âme*, Amsterdam, Elzévier, 1652, 12° (p. 34, n° 69).

DESCARTES, RENÉ. — *Lettres de M. Descartes où sont traitées les plus belles questions de la morale, physique, médecine et des mathématiques*, Paris, Angot, 1657, 4° (p. 33, n° 21).

DESCARTES, RENÉ. — *Le Monde de M. Descartes ou le Traité de la Lumière et des autres principaux objets des sens*, Paris, Le Gras, 1664, 8° (1st ed.) (p. 33, n° 28).

GUISE, DUC DE. — *Mémoires de M. le Duc (Henri) de Guise rédigés par Philippe Goibaud, Sieur du Bois, et publiés par Saint-Yon*, Paris, 1668, 4° (p. 32, n° 38).

GUISE, FRANÇOIS DE. — *Vie de François de Guise*, 1681, 8° (p. 36, n° 238).

LA FONTAINE, J. DE. — *Fables choisies mises en vers par M. de La Fontaine*, Paris, 1678 (p. 36, n° 148).

LONGUS. — *Les amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloe, traduites en françois* [by Jacques Amyot] Paris, Vincent Sertins, 1559, 8° (p. 34, n° 38).

MAYNARD, FR. — *Les lettres du Président Fr. Maynard*, Paris, G. de Luynes, 1652, 4° (p. 32, n° 41).

MOLIÈRE, — *Vie de Henriette Sylvie de Molière*, Paris, 1672 (8° or 12°) (p. 34, n° 64).

PASCAL, BLAISE. — *Pensées de M. Pascal sur la religion et sur quelques autres sujets qui ont été trouvés après sa mort parmi ses papiers*, Paris, Guillaume Desprez, 1670, 12° (p. 37, n° 217).

PASCAL, BLAISE. — *Discours sur les pensées de Pascal, où l'on essaye de faire voir quel était son dessein* [by Filleau de La Chaise], Paris, Guil. Desprez, 1672, 12° (p. 36, n° 217).

RICHELIEU, CARDINAL DE. — *Journal de M. le Cardinal de Richelieu durant le grand orage de la cour en 1630 et 1631, tirés des mémoires écrits de sa main, etc.*, Amsterdam, Wolganck, 1665, 12° (p. 36, n° 170).

ROHAN, DUC DE. — *Mémoires du Duc de Rohan sur les choses advenues en France depuis la mort de Henry le Grand*, 1665, 12° (p. 36, n° 253).

VILLARS, ABBÉ DE MONTFAUCON DE. — *Le comte de Gabalis ou entretiens des sciences secrètes*, Amsterdam, 1665, 8° (p. 36, n° 171).

In this book, from which Anatole France has much borrowed for his *Rotisserie de la Reine Pédauque*, the Abbé de Villars (1635-1673) expounds the doctrine of the Rosicrucians in a rather ambiguous fashion which does not reveal whether he is simply recounting the philosophical tenets of the sect or making fun of them.

VOITURE VINCENT. — *Les Œuvres de M. de Voiture, publiées par Martin de Vinchesne*, Paris, Courbe, 1650, 4° (1st ed. of the letters and poems) (p. 32, n° 41).

VIII

LIST OF THOMAS BROWNE'S
WORKS IN THE PRINCIPAL PUBLIC
LIBRARIES OF PARIS

VIII. LIST OF THOMAS IN THE PRINCIPAL PUBLIC

148.

TITLE OF WORK	WHERE PUBLISHED	EDITOR OR TRANSLATOR	NAME OF PUBLISHER
Religio Medici	English text	No place London London London London London	Andrew Crooke R. Scot, T. Basset, etc. Longman, etc. Sampson, Low, etc. Walter Scott George Bell & Sons
	Latin Translation	No place Leyde Strasbourg Strasbourg Strasbourg Amsterdam	No name No name Frederick Spoor Frederick Spoor Frederick Spoor No name
	French. transl.	No place	[Nicolas Le Febvre] No name
	English text	London London London	Edward Dod Nath Ekins Nath. Ekins
	French transl.	Paris Paris Paris	[J. B. Souchay] P. Witte et Didot Briasson Briasson
Pseudodoxia Epidemica			
Hydriotaphia & Garden of Cyrus	London London London London	J. W. Willis Bund J. Addington Symonds John Aubrey John Evans	Henry Brome Sampson Low, etc. Walter Scott Reeves and Turner Ch. Whittingham
	Letter to a Friend Posthumous Works Christian Morals	London London Cambridge	J. W. Willis Bund E. Curl (2) Sampson, Low, etc. E. Curl Camb. Univ. Press
	Collected Works	London London London	Th. Basset, etc. William Pickering G. Bell and Sons

1. B. N. = Bibliothèque Nationale. S. G. = Sainte-Geneviève.

LOWNE'S WORKS

BRARIES OF PARIS

DATE OF PUBLICATION	NUMBER OF VOLUMES & FORMAT	ENTRY IN KEYNES'S BIBLIOGRAPHY	NAME OF LIBRARY	LIBRARY REFERENCE
1643	1 vol. 8°	3	B. N.	Rés. D ² 5178
1678	1 vol. 8°	11	Maz.	26522 (A)
1844	1 vol. 8°	23	B. N.	R. 30090
1874	1 vol. 8°	31	Sorb.	LE apr. 43.12°
1886	1 vol. 8°	39	Sorb.	LE apr. 105.12°
1898	1 vol. 4°	43	B. N.	D ² 16982
1644	1 vol. 12°	60	B. N.	D ² 5177 & 6247 (2 cop.)
1650	1 vol. 12°	62	B. N.	D ² 6248
1652	1 vol. 8°	63	B. N.	D ² 6249 & 6250 (2 cop.)
			Maz.	26522
1665	1 vol. 8°	64	S. G.	Δ 65120
			Maz.	26593
1677	1 vol. 8°	65	B. N.	D ² 17445
1743	1 vol. 8°	67	Maz.	52859
			S. G.	D 1293
1668	1 vol. 12°	71	B. N.	D ² 5179
			Maz.	54770
1646	1 vol. fol.	73	B. N.	T ²¹ 95
			Maz.	4039
1658	1 vol. fol.	75	B. N.	T ²¹ 95 ^a
1659	1 vol. fol.	77	Ars.	S. A. 755 ^a (4°)
			Maz.	4039 A.
1733	2 vols 12°	87	B. N.	T ²¹ 96 & Z 33038-33039
			Sorb.	S. P. g. 145. 12°
			Ars.	S. A. 755
1738	2 vols 12°	89	B. N.	Rés. P. R. 399-400
			Sorb.	S. P. g. 146.12°
1741	2 vols 12°	not mentioned	B. N.	Z. 33040-33041
1658	1 vol. 8°	93	B. N.	N. L. 194
1874	1 vol. 8°	31 & 106	Sorb.	LE apr. 43.12°
1886	1 vol. 8°	39 & 108	Sorb.	LE apr. 105.12°
1890	1 vol. 8°	109	Sorb.	LE ac 17 (14)
1893	1 vol. 8°	111	B. N.	NL. 299
1874	1 vol. 8°	31 & 106	Sorb.	LE apr. 43.12°
1712	1 vol. 8°	156	B. N.	NL. 135
1904	1 vol. 4°	181	B. N.	D ² 17572
1686	1 vol. fol.	201	B. N.	Z 1471
1335-36	4 vols. 8°	203	B. N.	Z 44212-44215
189-92	3 vols. 12°	not mentioned	Sorb.	LE apr. 51.12°

B. = Sorbonne. Maz. = Mazarine. Ars. = Arsenal.

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Vu le 13 octobre 1930 :
LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES
LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE
PARIS,
H. DELACROIX.

Vu et permis d'imprimer :
POUR LE RECTEUR DE L'ACADÉMIE
DE PARIS, L'INSPECTEUR DE
L'ACADÉMIE,
J. PERRON.





